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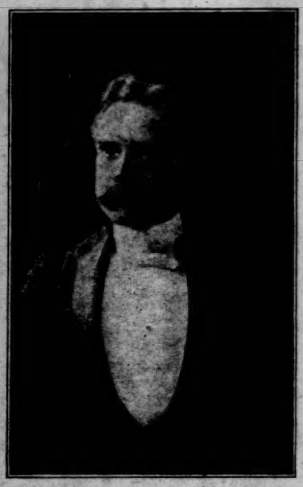

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THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

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PULPIT ELOQUENCE AND THE SUPERNATURAL.

THE minister of a Protestant sect feels that he has to devote himself assiduously to the composition and delivery of sermons; for they are, he thinks, the only means which he can employ for the purpose of enriching the souls of his congregation with grace.

But a Catholic priest is tempted to neglect sermons by the very abundance of the means of grace at his disposal. Every statue in its niche around the church preaches Faith. The Crucifix speaks eloquently of the love of God. Stained-glass representations of the mysteries send rays of sacred light into the souls of worshippers. Flowers, altar-lights, stately candlesticks, and vestments help to diffuse grace through the congregation. But especially there are the Sacraments and the Holy Sacrifice to promote the work of salvation and sanctification. Yonder is the confessional, yonder the Tabernacle. Is it too much to say that the Catholic priest in the midst of this lavish abundance of grace is tempted to feel content? Why should he endeavor to perfect himself in the art of speaking, in general; or in particular, why prepare overmuch for a sermon here and now, which after all will be only a rill in comparison with these floods? And indeed he may be disposed to consider it not only as a rill, but even as a dry channel, on the theory that natural eloquence like every other natural thing is incapable of producing a single degree of grace in the soul.

Again, in the midst of these holy surroundings he may possibly feel his insignificance. The heretical minister has

not the same background or pomp of circumstance to awe him into reverence. Four walls there are, a human audience and music in the choir-loft. But the tremendous Sacrifice, the rich sweet Sacraments, the company of imaged saints and angels are not around him. The sense of their infinite superiority is not forced upon him to humble him. He stands alone, as preacher the central figure, with a feeling of mastery instead of insignificance. But the priest is overwhelmed by glory. His eyes are blinded by heavenly rays. His importance dwindles in his own opinion, and he feels what may seem to him to be the inconsistency of mere man presuming to speak in the house of God. Just as a man with a heart to feel, realizes his littleness whilst he stands and looks around him at nature; and bows his head in solemn reverence in the presence of mountains, valleys, oceans, and skies, so the priest bends his head and would refrain from speech, thinking of the splendid supernatural world around him, walled and roofed in by his church.

Maybe too the futility of nature in the supernatural order will be invoked to justify neglect of eloquence. The Church has been clear in her depreciation of nature in works supernatural. She has taught us that there is no formal proportion existing between merely human faculties and the world of grace. The priest knows as a consequence that he could more easily draw a battleship with a silken cord, or quarry Gibraltar with a razor, or do any other deed ridiculously out of proportion with his means, than acquire the least degree of grace or glory for himself or for others with only natural energy. The poetical beauties of the mind of Shakespeare, the passionate strength of a Webster's soul, the keen intuitions of a Newton, sink into insignificance by the side of a single act of Faith in the soul of a child. For, after all, the accumulated splendors of imagination, passion, and intelligence, which beautify the mind of poet, orator, and scientist, could not merit by their own worthiness the slightest bit of God's love, a love which, however, he lavishes upon the faithful mind. Hence if poet, orator, or scientist went forth to renovate the world with his genius, he might succeed in imbuing his hearers' souls with ennobling thoughts and with stirring emotions, but he could not with all his gifts and energy suc-

ceed in inducing a single salutary act. Then why not dispense with the accoutrement of nature in the warfare of God and look only to the armor of God, the "breastplate of justice," the "shield of Faith," the "helmet of salvation," and "the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God"? Such thoughts as these may perchance incline a priest to become sceptical about the utility of the art of oratory on the level of the supernatural.

Why, he might continue, presume to throw light upon the sun with a lantern? Why try "to gild refined gold, to paint the lily," or daub the rainbow? Why try to increase the attractiveness of heavenly Faith with the vulgar cosmetics of an earth-grown art? Will keenness of mind, solidity of judgment, wide information, facility of expression, and melodiousness of voice help the orator in any degree to increase the objective value of Faith, or his own appreciation of it, or esteem for it in the hearts of his hearers? Can sharpness of intellect enable him to cut away the rust of misunderstanding and prejudice from the shining surface of Faith and show its divine glory to the world, more effectively than the simplest intellect, alive with Faith, could do the same? Can the sudden intuitions of his literary mind, refined by contact with the best of books, better fit a speaker to mount to the level of mysticism himself and draw his hearers after him, to partake in the intuitions of contemplatives, be it ever so slightly,—can, I say, the natural intuitions of such a mind do this work of prayer more successfully than it could be done by a mind dull and untutored, but close to God? Can a knowledge of history with a consequent insight into the development of Faith through the centuries, help an orator to produce more and better salutary results in his audience than he could hope for, had he never devoted himself to the Muse of the past? Can the dialectical powers which he employs in dissipating objections urged against the Faith assist his flock in any wise in their preservation of the Faith? Can his knowledge of natural sciences minister to the propagation of his supernatural trust? Can his smooth style soften hearts? Can his voice be assured of an entrance to the soul as well as to the ear? Can the warmth of his emotions beget glowing grace in other men? Maybe, alas, the

stream of golden eloquence that flows down from him to the people, instead of bearing upon its bosom galleons of heaven freighted with treasures of grace, only gratifies eyes with its glistening!

And if it be urged that eloquence can induce men at least to fly in a natural atmosphere instead of groveling, and to live like angels instead of indulging like swine; and can persuade them to adorn the walls of imagination with canvasses of heavenly tints instead of debauching them with images that pander to the lowest feelings, what profits such chastening, it may be answered, for life eternal? Even Crates, the pagan, despised riches, to keep his spirit clear; but to what advantage supernaturally? Even the highest principles of honor only naturally instilled from the pulpit, will not receive recognition at the eternal throne. Even sovereign contempt for sensuality, only naturally learned, will not be rewarded after death: and gentlemanly self-restraint, refined taste, and delicate attentiveness to others are of themselves no passport to heaven. No doubt many a man of nobler natural virtue pleases God less than many another on a lower level of the same kind of righteousness: because superior kindness, openheartedness, and industry, even with the help of a good motive behind them, many perchance be lacking in the accompaniment of grace; whilst natural accomplishments the most meagre may, on the other hand, be blessed with it. The fine spirit of enthusiasm which Demosthenes infused into Athenian breasts, of what profit will it be to them in the final reckoning? And "cui bono?" may be asked of the moral fruit sprung of Cicero's planting in Roman souls.

But worse than the futility is the danger of this art. Grace of speech has been so closely allied to worldly ways that it is pressed into the service of religion not without a suspicion of treacherous results in the end. The possibilities of good in it are evident at a glance; but the chances of evil are written on the very face of it. It labors of course under the disadvantage of every other natural gift,—the disadvantage of being open to easy perversion from wholesome ends. But it has special drawbacks of its own. There is a touch of earthliness in it which tends to keep it close to earth. It is allied to the senses, imagination, and passion, which are essentially

self-seeking. It depends a good deal for success on moods. It requires a close study of mere "words, words, words," which develop in many a speaker the habit of drawing "out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument." An enumeration of other possibilities of evil might be made. But enough has been said to show how one might plausibly oppose the study of oratory on the score of the dangers in which it abounds. Many a man has rid himself of gold, honor, and pleasure through fear of treachery in those honest things. Why not for the same reason do the same thing to this art of speech? And just as poverty and mortification have been man's best auxiliaries in the spiritual fight, why ought not the soul that is stripped of human graces in like manner, and toughened in like manner by abstention from the delicate draughts and toothsome morsels of a natural art, be less likely to be thrown down itself in its contest with the powers of evil, and better fitted also to lead other men to a successful issue. Moreover, we know that if we gaze upon a landscape through a stained-glass casement, the scene before us loses its native hue and assumes the color of the medium through which we gaze. In a similar manner, when, as artists, we look upon Divine Truth through the glowing windows of passion; through imagination,

> All garlanded with carven imageries
> And diamonded with panes of quaint device,
> Innumerable of stains and splendid dyes;

and through the ruby of our heart and heart's emotions,—the spectacle, far from appearing in its own proper light, is coated with the pigments of sense. Why not dispense with these discoloring casements, and have the people gaze upon Truth through the open window of simple speech, under the white light of Faith?

Such is the objection against oratory in its relation to the supernatural. It is an objection worth stating at length; for it contains, to say the least, the force of apparent truth; and, though on examination it loses this force, I believe that in daily life it exerts a discouraging influence upon seminarists and priests.

To this objection, in spite of its content of truth, real or apparent, most decided exception must be taken. However,

before answering it, a clearing of the ground may perhaps be necessary, to avoid possible misunderstanding.

And first the question here discussed is not engaged with the production of *personal* sanctity in the preacher. The influence of nature upon individual holiness may or may not be beneficial, as far as the present discussion is concerned. Does natural refinement make for his own holiness in the refined individual, or does it not, is a matter quite apart from our consideration. The point at issue lies along the line of apostolic effort. How does nature help the preacher in his work from the pulpit? What has art to do with his influence upon his audience? What sort of auxiliary is oratory for him in his efforts to convert souls?

Taking into consideration this limitation of the discussion, I would say in the second place that the view is not entertained by the writer that a preacher's natural superiority, either inborn or acquired, insures superior supernatural effects in his audience. Twenty-five degrees of natural ability in him, working in union with five degrees of pulpit grace from God, are not of more avail for the conversion or sanctification of a congregation, *ceteris paribus*, than only five degrees of natural ability in union with five degrees of grace. Webster with his wonderful genius, had he been a Catholic priest, could not have preached salvation more successfully than any of us with our mediocre talents, if (contrary to what I am convinced would have happened in the event of his preaching), he had been assisted in his efforts only by the same mediocre graces as ours. A poor musician cannot get better music out of a grand organ than out of a hand-organ, because, on account of his very limited powers, he cannot exhaust the full potency of the organ; he cannot toe its pedals and finger its keys and operate its stops masterfully; and so half of its music still sleeps in its bosom in spite of his frail efforts to arouse the mighty thing. In like manner a poor inconsiderable pulpit grace cannot elicit sweeter or mightier spirit-music from a superb human instrument than from a mean one, for the delight of listeners; because such a grace cannot supernaturally stir up the full forces of the preaching genius upon which it descends, but can waken only a fraction of them. And as an audience in the first case would grieve

to think of so much instrumental power unused, so the Angels of Heaven must often grieve, if they can, to think of the immense natural preaching abilities lying dormant in the supernatural life, because, for one reason or another, the better graces of the Holy Spirit are not allowed to descend upon those better natural abilities, to rouse them to their fullest life.

In the third place, neither is it maintained that superior natural abilities or accomplishment have the power of drawing to themselves from heaven superior graces with the aid of which superior results could be expected in an audience. Nature, even at its highest, has no attractive influence upon grace. There is not in the natural any exigency of the supernatural. A dunce is as worthy, as such, of God's best supernatural gifts as a genius is. Mountain and mole-hill are on the same level of insignificance in comparison with the Infinite God; so too are height and littleness of ability in comparison with grace. The soul in its native character whether little or transcendent, is not magnetic with regard to the outpourings of the Holy Spirit. It must be charged and have its surface coated with grace before the electric sparks of new graces are forced to leap down from the sky to it. You cannot contemplate the natural abilities of an apostle and then tell *a priori* the measure of helping grace which will be poured out on him for his work. His capabilities are no index in themselves of the extent to which God will employ them. God is free to make this human dynamo hum with the electricity of grace, or to allow it to remain a lump of dead cold iron, free to make the souls of a congregation glow and shine with heat and light from the pulpit power-house like lamps on a line or to allow them to remain unthrilled.

Moreover, even if God should help a preacher with graces proportioned to his eminent natural abilities, no man could have any certain assurance, even in that supposition, of extraordinary results to follow. For, preaching-graces can be conferred without being employed, and talents of nature also can be given and then left by the recipient without being duplicated. Every element of success can be in readiness for operation without being operated. Graces can be lavished without effect. How many a case could be cited of remarkable inborn and acquired abilities, of an imagination kindling

with fire, of a comprehensive and intuitive mind, of logical powers, of a rare gift of speech and a fair style, all divinely vitalized by precious graces from on high, being allowed by their possessor "to rust unburnished, not to shine in use"? How many a human craft, with noble keel, and sails full from heaven, is perversely turned by a free self-operating rudder from sailing down the lake with its stores of heavenly food for hungry mouths on yonder shore? Great natural abilities in God's servants have almost come to be suspicious things. Treachery to grace is often half-way expected. The pride of power frequently shadows power. Humility is many a time made sure of only through the medium of humble natural gifts and accomplishments; and the sanctification of a congregation often has to be procured by the heavenly Father through the instrumentality of mediocre preachers of the Word.

With these negative statements disposed of, the relationship of oratory to grace can now be expressed without much danger of being misunderstood. Oratory is a better disposition in a preacher for the reception of pulpit-graces from heaven for his congregation than the lack of that art would be. Secondly, God regards this disposition, and if the human will does not place an obstacle to His bounty, He pours out larger graces for the good of the people, proportioned to the larger capacity of His well-disposed instrument. In the third place, just as a superior musician can draw more and better music from a better instrument than from a poorer one, so these larger graces can effect better results through the cultured soul of a holy priest than could be possible for them if he remained uncouth. And lastly, passing on from what *can be* to what *does happen,* though it be admitted that natural perfections are too often the occasion of ruin to their possessor through pride and vanity, instead of being a means of salvation, yet in view of the greater good produced by a thoroughly refined and learned priesthood, it is considered best to acquire these perfections, provided this can be done in the spirit of prayer.

We should be inclined to believe all this *a priori.* For is it not consonant with propriety for God to wish to honor His own better natural gifts in His servants with better super-

natural complements? And since the supernatural is not the destruction, but the elevation of the natural, far from expecting to find natural superiority shorn of its advantages on being raised to the levels of grace, should we not rather suppose that it would be allowed to retain those advantages for the greater profit of souls?

But, *a posteriori*, we assent to the truth before us on the authority of the Church, which has shown by Her attitude toward profane arts and sciences that nature is of invaluable aid in things of the spirit. She takes a boy and places him in a curriculum of pagan classics. He is supposed to get a delicacy of touch, a refinement of sentiment, an exquisite sense of the proprieties of life,—all of which are purely natural accomplishments. He is induced to form ideas, to combine ideas into judgments, to proceed unswervingly along the logical groove from some general principle down to particular consequences, or up from an accumulation of observed facts to the establishment of some general principle. He is trained into steadying his mental gaze, and widening it and sharpening it. He is told that abstract knowledge is to be applied to present practical exigencies and that hoarded information is to work itself out, in one way or another, into his daily actions. He is made to toughen his will by downing difficulties, to wisely choose a definite course of good deeds and then to keep to his choice unflinchingly in spite of allurements all around him. After this process, merely natural in itself, if he has a call, he is ushered into the Seminary where again natural culture is attended to for many years. To comprehend, to defend, and attractively to explain the Word—a duty which is to be a great part of his lifework—all this requires an intuitive quickness, a patience of research, a steadiness of mental gaze, a solidity of judgment, an eloquence of exposition, which again, in themselves, are natural and nothing more.

Finally, her ideal minister is one that goes forth into the world rich in grace, but just as rich in profane accomplishments. I would that beauty should go beautifully, says the poet; and the Church would have the beauty of Faith enter the pulpit beautifully clad in the raiment of nature; so that non-Catholics on the one hand who for one reason or another

have identified Catholicity with ignorance and have considered the Church to be the personification of esthetic mediocrity, and Catholics on the other hand, who have either been alienated from the right spirit of their faith or at least have not arrived at the perfection of their state, may be drawn first to love a preacher's natural gifts, and then his supernatural treasury and finally the God of it. These human attributes are the "cords of Adam"; they are the bait with which the Divine Fisherman catches men and draws them out of the stagnant pools of earth to place them in the pellucid basins of heaven.

For further light, we may turn back to the day-dawn of Christianity. There stand the Fathers, those giants of the early Church. I see St. Augustine, not better known for his sanctity than for his knowledge and rhetorical skill. I see St. Jerome, the most learned man of his day in his combined knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and St. John Chrysostom, who spoke with his eyes as well as with lips, and irradiated magnetism from his whole person; and St. Gregory Nazianzen, who said: "I have given up honor, riches, and pleasure; one thing only I cleave to,—that is eloquence. I have gone over land and sea to acquire it, and I am willing to make every sacrifice to retain it." Finally we may turn to the great Athanasius, who formulated the Creed for us. What natural acuteness of mind he must have had, and how his mind must have been sharpened still more by dialectical studies, to have been able to state Divine truth so succinctly and clearly and unerringly! Now those men were taught by the Church; they were her ideal ministers and she encouraged them to spend themselves not more in work purely supernatural than in the acquisition of human refinement for themselves and in its spread amongst others. Here is the answer to the "cui bono?" of sceptics with regard to oratory. For, since the Church, because of her supernatural mission, could not and cannot encourage profane arts merely for the sake of resulting natural advantages, it follows that she must consider them closely allied to heaven.

In her estimate of the value of the natural she was anteceded by a greater than she. For, the Creator Himself spread out the glorious panorama of the visible universe, in order that

all this natural beauty might catch our eyes and hearts and allure us to the knowledge and love of Himself. In the Scriptures, He graced his Word with the enticing charms of literature, partially human, to win us to taste the sweetness of that Word Divine. In the Incarnation, He took to Himself a soul and body in order that we who shrink from His heavenly majesty might be softened into love at the sight of a heart connatural with our own. Finally, in the sanctuary, far from relying exclusively on His sacramental magnetism, He has surrounded Himself with every pleasant thing,—with marble altar, with bronze tabernacle, with flowers, lights and dreaming clouds of incense, with the cloth of gold of vestments, and laces of acolytes: for, He knows that if there be "sermons in stones, and books in running brooks," there must be much eloquence also in all the pomp and circumstance with which the loving hand of nature banks the sanctuary of the Most High.

Here then, in the course which the Church has uniformly pursued in the education of her ministers in imitation of the economy of God Himself, we have, I presume to say, a sufficient answer to the objection against pulpit oratory. For, if it be urged that a priest's eloquence, when added to the other most abundant means of grace in his hands—particularly sacramental means—is like the addition of a drop of water to a lake, she denies the truth of the comparison and insists on the importance of eloquence. If the insignificance of the priest, standing in the midst of his grace-surroundings, is urged, she admits his personal insignificance, but denies his insignificance as ambassador of Christ and minister of the Most High. If the futility of speech in supernatural work is proposed for solution, she answers that natural gifts and accomplishments cannot merit grace nor efficiently produce it in an audience; but that they are at least dispositions very favorable to the outpouring of the supernatural grace of speech upon a preacher's soul for the benefit of listeners. If finally the danger of pride and vanity, involved in the cultivation of the art of speech, be placed before her as an objection, she answers: "Prayerfully incur the danger that the advantages of the art may not be lost to God." Here we may stop a moment to observe how different is her view of riches

and art. She understands the innate value of both in the economy of salvation; she understands the misuse to which both can be and are put: and yet, whilst to avoid the chances of misuse, she invites men in the name of Christian perfection to forgo the personal possession and use of riches, she has, on the contrary, in the same high interests, systematically encouraged even her choicest children to acquire and employ art.

These considerations, though speculative in flavor, are not without their practical importance. For, just as worldings overestimate the value of nature in comparison with grace, so supernatural persons are inclined to underrate its helpfulness in the work of God. The first set of men become so engrossed in creatures as to forget the Creator; the second set grow so enamored of the beauty of the Most High that the contemplation and the use of finite things becomes a task to them. Devotees of the world employ the world as an end in itself; devoted children of God often neglect to use it even as a means to heaven. They wish to go straight to God; but sometimes forget that the path to Him is through the world. In their zeal they rightly repudiate the adoration of nature and of art; in their imprudence, at times they wrongly repudiate the employment of nature and of art in the adoration of Another.

Now is not a seminarian or a priest whose gaze is being constantly directed toward heaven, liable to forget earth? Is he not in his high appreciation of grace liable to disparage art? "The children of the world are wiser in their generation than the children of light"; and they show their wisdom by setting high value on the use of creatures. Satan wields his power among men to-day because he approaches them in the silken garments and with all the graciousness of worldliness. Is not sacerdotal influence at a lower ebb than it would be if priests took more pains to array their holy souls in winsome natural drapery? And would not the supernatural Word they speak be doubly potent if it sprung from golden tongues?

JOHN A. MCCLOREY, S.J.

Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.

THE LATEST PROPOSAL IN CALENDAR REFORM.

IN the May issue of the REVIEW some account was given[1] of the present status of the movement—an international one—looking to a reform of the Gregorian Calendar, and some slight appreciation was attempted of the various plans or suggestions offered by students of the question. It may prove of further interest to give attention to the newest proposal—that of Professor Alexander Philip—and to add, by way of complement to the former article, some details elicited by its publication.

The newest proposal deals, not with the Religious, but only with the Civil Calendar, although it is the hope and, indeed, the expectation of its author, that its adoption will facilitate a reform of the Religious Calendar as well.

The original proposal of Professor Philip dealt with both the week and the month and led to the introduction of two bills into the House of Commons in England; but the promoters went further than the original author, and offended religious sentiment. In a letter (dated 25 April, 1912) to the present writer, Mr. Philip remarks that it has been apparent to him for some time, that the Churches "will not be favorable to any interruption of the succession of week days," and he therefore proposes "to limit the reform at present to the months." He thinks "the advantages of this are greater than will at first sight appear." Accordingly he has had a bill introduced in the House of Commons which concerns itself solely with the months, avoids the pitfalls of the "*dies non*", and nevertheless prepares the way, if religious sentiment should care to make a change at any future time, for any desirable treatment of the question of Easter.[2]

[1] See article on *Easter and Calendar Reform.*

[2] "The object of the Bill is to establish a simple and symmetrical arrangement of the months and quarters within the year.

"Any symmetrical arrangement of the months involves a slight alteration in the calendar date of the vernal equinox, and would conveniently precede any decision as to the adoption of a fixed Easter.

"It is not proposed to interfere in any way with the regular succession of week days, but if subsequently found desirable, any such change would be in no way hindered by the previous adoption of the provisions of the Bill." *Memorandum* to the "Calendar Amendment Bill", presented in the House of Commons (and by it ordered to be printed, 13 March, 1912) by Mr. Robert Harcourt and supported by Mr. John Deans Hope.

Before considering in some detail the features of this new proposal, we may note in passing some of the significant implications of this departure from all the schemes outlined in the May number of the REVIEW. And first of all, there is the relinquishment, by one of the most earnest students, for many years, of the problem of Calendar Reform, and one of the most persuasive protagonists of one of the proposed reforms,—the relinquishment (at least for the present) of the attempt to standardize the relation of the days of the week to those of the month. Mr. Philip early recognized the probable opposition of the Churches to any scheme which should contemplate the removal of Easter from its traditional situs of Sunday, or which should withdraw one or two days from the week-scheme of the year by making them *dies non*. In an address at the Fourth International Congress of Chambers of Commerce (London, 21-23 June, 1910), he argued that while confusion is undoubtedly caused by the great variability of the date of Easter, this fact was by no means the main consideration, since "there is infinitely more trouble caused by the ordinary working of the calendar than by the disturbance of Easter"; that this last is but one incident in the year [although for Catholics it controls many others], and is but a secondary one for the reason that Easter cannot be really fixed before a perpetual calendar is adopted: "You can fix it more nearly, but you cannot fix it finally, until you have a perpetual calendar." He pointed to the fact that in the question of the date of Easter, religious sentiments were involved:

"I warn you that we must not disturb these sentiments. I am sure that every one of us here would be the last in the world to do anything to injure the feelings of anyone in matters which they regard as sacred. We cannot be too careful in this matter, and that is the reason why I have adopted this particular plan which you see foreshadowed in these pamphlets which have been circulated. I mention that, not for the purpose of discussing the different schemes, but for saying one thing, and with that I shall conclude. The reform is after all divisible into two halves. You can deal with the month without touching the week. I have worked it out very carefully. . . ."

His regard for religious sentiment was well-advised. In a letter to the present writer (dated 30 May, 1912) he notes that a Committee has been appointed by the Church of England to consider calendar reform, and that its Report has been submitted to Convocation, two of whose recommendations were unanimously adopted: first, "that there shall be no alteration in the week of seven days, and that Sunday shall continue to be the first day of the week"; and second, "that there shall be no alteration in the date of Christmas". With respect to the date of Easter, the third recommendation (defeated by two votes) was that, if Easter should be made a fixed date, it should be a Sunday in the first half of April. It is needless to point out here the correspondence of these recommendations with the plan of reform which the *Gaulois* credited to the Holy Father. But it is interesting to know that religious sentiment, whether Catholic or Anglican, still preserves such a strong influence; and this leads to the second significant implication in the argument of Mr. Philip.

This implication is that it is futile for scholars or business men to advocate a reform in the calendar which will not commend itself to the various religious bodies interested therein: "Any reform in the calendar must be unanimous", he argued in the Address (1910). And in his recent letter (30 May, 1912) he still is of the same opinion: "My original plan preserved the Sunday as the first day of the week. I have, however, understood for a good while that the ***dies non*** would not be acceptable to the Churches. That is why I drew the Bill which Mr. Harcourt has introduced. The Church of England have decided that they can not accept either of the others. It would be very foolish to attempt to go in opposition to the Churches in this matter, and accordingly I think attention should be concentrated upon the Harcourt proposal. That project deals exclusively with the secular calendar."

The proposal, therefore, of the new bill in Parliament concerns itself not at all with the question of fixing Easter or any other feast-day, nor does it attempt to relate the days of the week with those of the month. It is designed purely for secular purposes. Nevertheless, it would affect in some ways the calendar uses of the Missal and Breviary, and this fact makes it of interest to priests, and worthy of study even by

those who have no special interest in the general question of Calendar Reform.

The scheme of Professor Philip, embodied in the Harcourt Bill, contemplates a business year consisting of four quarters, each of which should contain exactly thirteen weeks, or ninety-one days. This will account for 364 days. To these is added New Year Day (January 1st), which in the previous schemes was to be a *dies non*, but is now to be a regular weekday, although it will be considered a public holiday, and will not figure in commercial computations, contracts, etc. (in which relationships it will be practically a *dies non*, while remaining a weekday for religious purposes). In Leap Year, the extra day will be called Leap Day, and will be transferred from February 29th to the 1st day of July. February, however, will contain thirty days, the additional two days being obtained by transferring them from the present 31st of August and of October, thus giving to July and October 30 days each. The purpose of these alterations will appear plainly by a glance at the tabulated scheme of the number of days in each month:

January, 31.	April, 30.	August, 30.	October, 30.
February, 30.	May, 30.	July, 30.	November, 30.
March, 31.	June, 31.	September, 31.	December, 31.

The year is thus portioned into quarters, each of which (omitting for the first quarter the first day of January, or New Year Day) will contain 91 days. In Leap Year, July would contain 31 days, but the 1st day (Leap Day) would be civilly a *dies non*, and therefore this third quarter would also contain (civilly) only 91 days.

Another feature of the arrangement will appear evident by a brief study of the table—that there would be 91 days in any period of three consecutive months. Thus, for instance, if we begin with February we should have: February, 30; March, 31; April, 30; if we begin with March, we should have: March, 31; April, 30; May, 30, and so on—in every case a period of three consecutive months would comprise the stated 13 weeks or 91 days.

Again, in Leap Year, the calendar would be symmetrical for the half-years; and in ordinary years the calendar, both

weekly and monthly, would be symmetrical for each of the four quarters.

This proposal for a new calendar is practically the same as that referred to in the REVIEW (May issue), as the "Normal Calendar", from which it differs principally in allowing the weekdays to run on consecutively without any *dies non*, while in ordinary years one of the months will have a merely civil *dies non*, and in Leap Year still another month will have a merely civil *dies non*.

The advantages of the system are of commercial and statistical importance: "The calculation of apportionable payments—wages, rents, interests, etc., would be standardized and greatly simplified by means of tables. The work of Governmental Departments, e. g. Old Pensions Act, National Insurance Act, etc., would be greatly simplified. Statistical returns would be simplified and made symmetrical. The keeping and auditing of accounts would be simplified."

All of these gains will appear in stronger light by a comparison of this scheme with that of the present calendar, with its apparently haphazard assignment of the number of days to the various months.

A prominent feature of the proposed new calendar is the division of the year, for civil purposes, into four exactly equal quarters.

The four quarters of the year might be designated simply as first, second, third, fourth, or as the Winter, Spring, Summer, Autumn quarters.

Finally, the Act of Parliament is meant to go into operation on the first day of January, 1913, and to apply "to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and to all the British Dominions beyond the seas."

It is unnecessary to go into the details by which the Bill undertakes to interpret existing or future contracts.[3]

It will be at once evident, that such a proposal simply leaves out of consideration (while not in any wise menacing) the ordinary traditions of the Religious Calendar of many denominations or religious bodies. The Sundays are not inter-

[3] Those who are interested in this phase of the question may obtain a copy of the Bill, "published by His Majesty's Stationery Office", through any bookseller in the United Kingdom.

fered with, Christmas day will fall as usual on the 25th December, and Easter and Holy Week will recur annually in exactly the same relationships as at present. But in the Roman Calendar (used so very largely throughout Christendom), in the calendars of local dioceses, and in those of certain Religious Orders many changes would have to be made. Most of these changes are not of a fundamental character, it is true. A few feasts now assigned to the beginning of one month will, unless the religious calendars are changed to agree with the proposed civil calendar, be celebrated at the end of the preceding month, or *vice versa*. The interval between March 25th (the Annunciation of Our Lady, or the Conception of Our Lord) and December 25th would, in the new arrangement, be two days less than at present, but the symbolism of the "nine months" would not be greatly affected; and similarly the symbolism of the 8th of December (the Conception of Our Lady) and the 8th of September (the Nativity B. V. M.) would practically remain undisturbed. But the placing of Leap Day on the first of July, instead of in February, as at present, would cause some embarrassment in the church calendar, in the Breviary Offices, etc.

What would happen if the Bill were to be enacted into law in Great Britain and her possessions beyond seas? The Catholic clergy in those regions would be living under two quite distinct calendars; for it is hardly probable that the Roman Calendar would be changed locally for their convenience. In civil and commercial affairs, England would quite isolate herself, chronologically, from the rest of the world, and especially from her American cousin, and the disadvantages under which the Catholic clergy would live in England would seem to be, in some measure, duplicated for merchants doing a trans-Atlantic business.

What is of special interest to the Catholic priest, however, is the possibility of an international agreement based on Professor Philip's scheme, whose adoption by England and her possesions might lead the way (if it proved, in practice, as advantageous as it appears in theory) for the other civilized peoples of the world. In that case, the Roman Breviary and Missal might perhaps be subjected to the chronological or calendarial changes required to bring it into conformity

with the civil calendar—a task of no great magnitude, if it be deemed appropriate, and of special feasibility just at the present time, when both Missal and Breviary are undergoing so many quietly performed revisions and alterations.

It is not the purpose of the present paper to go into a minutely detailed investigation of the effect Professor Philip's proposal would have, if it attained the success of an international approval and were actually put in operation by international agreement, on the Religious Calendar and the daily Mass and Office. It is sufficient to have indicated briefly some of the results that would follow. Those who are interested in the practical details of the proposal would find matter for pleasant study in the scheme of the "Perpetual Adjustable Calendar" designed by Mr. Philip "to gain all the advantages of a Perpetual Calendar without any interruption in the weekly succession."

The remaining portion of the present paper will concern itself with various matters related in one way or another to the schemes outlined in the May number of the REVIEW.

1. One correspondent has kindly furnished me with the text of the Address delivered by M. Pitot at the International Congress of Chambers of Commerce and Industrial and Commercial Associations, held at Prague in 1908. M. Pitot spoke on "La Réduction de la Variabilité de la Fête de Pâques." He presents the subject with Gallic clearness, acknowledging indebtedness for very much of his material to the Abbé Th. Moreux, the director of the Observatory of Bourges (France). Some of this is of such interest and appropriateness to the present discussion of reform, that it may be quoted (in translation) here:

"The prescriptions of the Council of Nicæa exhibit another preoccupation—the wish to avoid having the Pasch celebrated on the same day by Jews as well as Christians. But the attempt failed.

"In the year 360, the Jewish Calendar was newly arranged, and the coincidence of feasts occurred several times.

"The Gregorian reform of the calendar made the concurrence still more frequent.

"The Evangelical Church of Germany decreed in 1700 that thenceforth the astronomical tables should be the basis

for the calculation of the full paschal moon; and the result was that in 1724 and 1744 there was a difference of a week between the Catholic and the Protestant Easter. A new decree issued in 1775 re-established the old rule. It had also been noticed that the use of the astronomical moon would have led, in 1778 and 1798, to a coincidence of the Jewish Pasch and the evangelical Easter, against what was deemed the desire of the Council of Nicaea."

According to M. Pitot, the Abbé Moreux was asked by a number of astronomers interested in calendar reform to discover how Pope Leo XIII would be affected towards the movement; and accordingly the Abbé requested the Director of the Vatican Observatory to ask the Holy Father if he would approve of the desire of astronomers that Easter be always celebrated on the same Sunday; for example, that following the equinox. "The reply of Leo XIII was most encouraging: 'I perceive nothing improper', he said, 'in such a desirable change; but there should be one condition, that the Orthodox Russians be willing to abandon the Old Style and adopt the Gregorian Calendar.' This declaration is one of capital importance and ought to facilitate very much the fixing of Easter on a less variable date. The Evangelical Churches, simply following the order established by the Roman Church, would certainly not raise any objection to the principle of the reform we are preaching; nor do we suppose that such a reform could introduce any new divisions among Christians. As for the Russians, inasmuch as their calendar does not now agree with the Gregorian, it seems to me that we ought not much to care whether they accept or refuse. We ask, then, with the Abbé Th. Moreux, that Easter be fixed on the Sunday following the spring equinox . . . or, at the latest, on the Sunday following the 4th of April."

2. Another correspondent quotes from Markham's *The Incas of Peru* (N. Y., 1910, p. 117) some highly interesting details of the Peruvian Calendar: The Peruvian year contained 12 months of 30 days each; five days were added at the end of the year, and every fourth year a day was added.

3. The Abbot of Farnborough contributed to the London *Tablet* two illuminating articles (20 and 27 April) on "The Feast of Easter and the Reform of the Gregorian Calendar",

of which the first (with excellent bibliography attached) dealt with the past history of the question, while the second came down to a consideration of one of the recent proposals, that of M. Grosclaude, which is similar to the one of Professor Philip, save that, as shown above, the *dies non* (New Year Day and Leap Day) are not counted in the week, whereas they do not interrupt the succession of days of the week in the plan of Mr. Philip. The Abbot does not discuss the proposal, but outlines it clearly, doubtless because it is the most feasible and the most championed of all. He notes the fact that our modern reformers of the calendar "have had precursors since the sixteenth century. Thus amongst the projects of reform elaborated at the time of Gregory XIII there was one proposing to celebrate Easter on a fixed date. A century later René Ouvard, a Canon of Tours, proposed a similar system, which was favorably considered by Cardinal Sluze, and was on the point of being presented to Innocent XI. Father Nau a short time afterwards made the same attempt." He calls special attention to the works of Father Tondini, whom he had mentioned also in the previous paper (20 April).[4]

Dom Cabrol states the arguments *pro* and *contra* clearly and effectively, and does not appear to lean strongly to either side. He contends, however, that the State cannot act with-

[4] Apropos of this longtime Catholic interest in the question of calendar reform, it is not amiss to quote here the editorial of the N. Y. *Independent* (6 June, 1912), which may be divided into paragraphs for the purpose of brief comment.

"Six months ago we published the likelihood that the Pope would consider the question of setting a fixed date for Easter instead of letting it wander about for a full month, depending on the moon's changes." This is putting the attitude of the *Independent* rather mildly; for it assumed that the *Gaulois* (see the May REVIEW, page 513) had announced a fact in the assertion that Pope Pius X was to fix Easter on the first Sunday of April, and there was no intimation, in its comments on the assumed fact, that only a "likelihood" of papal action was in question.

"A commission has now been appointed, and the Catholic journals are beginning to discuss the matter." There seems to be here an intimation that Catholics had not discussed the broad question before the appointment of the commission. The bibliography in the papers of Dom Cabrol would be a sufficient answer to this, as also would have been the much briefer one given by Father Holweck in his article on Easter in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (V., 225, 2nd col.). The remainder of the editorial is phrased more pleasantly, and indicates a changed view of the *Independent*:

"Such a change is desirable; and when decided on at Rome it will be interesting to see whether it will be followed at Westminster and York, or whether the Anglican Church will hold back, as has the Greek Church these centuries, unwilling to accept from Rome the reform of the calendar."

out the concurrence of the Church—a contention which, as has been shown above, is put forward also by Professor Philip, and was made prominent in the May issue of the REVIEW.

We shall not presume to discuss the argumentation of the distinguished Abbot of Farnborough, but may be permitted to question the practicability of the contention that "before doing away with our present calendar it would be well to wait until the system which it is proposed to substitute has given proof of its fitness." The theoretical proofs of the feasibility and availability and advantages of the "Normal" calendar, or of that proposed by Professor Philip, are many and of no little weight. Practical proofs cannot, of course, be had until the system advocated has been put in practice somewhere—indeed, everywhere (for, as the Abbot remarks, the reform "cannot be *unilateral*," but must be shared by both Church and State).

4. The June issue of the REVIEW contained (pp. 726-8) a summary of a plan put forth several years ago in the *Catholic World* by a Catholic Astronomer, Father Searle. His scheme is ingenious and exact, and adds a new feature to the age-long discussion. It is so easily accessible that it needs not to be detailed here.

5. Mr. Charles Fisher, of San Francisco, permits me to reprint here his calendar of thirteen months. It was designed to go into effect last year. Although, in a letter to the present writer, he declares that he had definitely renounced his plan in favor of that presented by Professor Philip at the International Congress (London, 1910), it is worthy of reproduction to illustrate vividly a plan much advocated in various forms but now definitely relinquished, even by the author of one of the variant forms, in favor of a Normal Calendar of twelve months.

From the details furnished by the article in the REVIEW for May (pp. 513-529) and the supplementary matter contained in the present paper, it is permissible to indicate some reasonable

CONCLUSIONS

and, incidentally, to correct some misapprehensions which the present writer has encountered both in printed form and in

A. D. 1911 New "Civil Calendar" to be adopted SUNDAY, JANUARY, 1, 1911.	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
JANUARY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
FEBRUARY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
MARCH	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
APRIL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
MAY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
JUNE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
VINCENT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14/*14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
JULY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
AUGUST	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
SEPTEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
OCTOBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
NOVEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
DECEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28/*28

* Between Saturday, the last day of December and Sunday the first day of January comes a day to be known as **"ANNO DAY."** This day to have no other name or date than **"ANNO DAY, 1911."** It is no calendar day and has no other distinction separate from the last day of December. Any labor done on **"ANNO DAY"** shall be a matter of special contract or agreement. No interest or rental shall accrue on that day; for all such purposes it is to be considered a part of Saturday, December 28th.

* Every fourth year (commencing 1912) there shall be an extra day between Saturday, Vincent 14th and Sunday, Vincent 15th, known as **"MIDANNO DAY"** which shall be treated in all respects similar to Anno Day.

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oral communications. The conclusions that may be grouped here are:

1. The project of having a fixed date for Easter is not one merely of recent discussion. It was advocated in the time of Gregory XIII, and a century later by René Ouvard, a Canon of Tours, and somewhat later by Father Nau. The project was again renewed, in very recent years, in pamphlets and periodical publications, until it was formally proposed, four years ago, in the International Congress of Chambers of Commerce at Prague.

2. Two things show that such a project is not, in its nature, an embarrassing one to speculate upon, from the standpoint of Catholic interests: first, the encouragement given by Leo XIII to the proposed discussion of the subject by astronomers and other interested parties, and his declaration that such a reform contained nothing improper in itself, but should be accompanied by a concession on the part of the Orthodox Russian Church—the surrender, namely, of its adherence to the Old Style and its adoption of the New Style of the Gregorian Calendar; second, the establishment by Pius X of a Commission to inquire into and report upon the feasibility of the fixing of the date of Easter.

3. The sentiment of Catholics, as also of non-Catholic religious bodies, appears to demand that Easter shall always have Sunday for a situs, although there is some warrant in Church history for such an absolutely fixed date as would necessarily permit Easter to fall on any day of the week. The reasons—liturgical, historical, devotional—for this demand for Sunday as the only possible site for the Feast of the Resurrection are simply overwhelming at the present day, and need not be discussed or even detailed here.

4. It is very comforting to know that the vast majority (indeed, practically all) of the many proposals for fixing Easter (whether absolutely, in a reformed calendar, or with less variability, in the present "unreformed" calendar) have respected scrupulously this sentiment (that Easter must fall always on a Sunday) of Christian religious bodies. Thus the International Congress at Prague (1908) selected a Sunday for Easter in an unreformed calendar; and the various schemes for a Normal Calendar have, almost without exception, carefully provided for a similar site.

5. Whether or not the inclusion in the year of a *dies non* (and in leap years, of two such days) is such an essential infringement on the symbolism of the week of seven days, as to put all such proposals beyond the pale of Catholic discussion, is a matter for liturgiologists to discuss and for the authorities of the Church to pass upon. But here also it is comforting to feel that the proposals including *dies non* in the calendar did not, in all probability, proceed either from a malicious desire to embarrass Christian worship or from a negligent contempt of Christian sentiment in the matter. Thus one of the most earnest students and protagonists of the Normal Calendar (Professor Alexander Philip), upon learning of the opposition of Christian sentiment to the *dies non*, not only promptly relinquished the point to the objecting party, but earnestly contended, at the International Congress at London (1910), that this sentiment should be scrupulously respected. He there advocated the desirability of confining the proposed reform to the months, leaving the weekly succession of days undisturbed; and after much study of the problem, has at length had introduced in the British Parliament a bill limiting the reform to the months, and has made such a proposed reform more feasible by the construction of a " Perpetual Adjustable Calendar ".

6. The advantages of a Normal Calendar or Normal Year, in which there would be a perpetual correspondence of days of the month and days of the week, are nevertheless many and weighty. For civil, statistical, commercial, and other purposes, these advantages have been pointed out in detail; and need not be repeated here. It might be fairly argued that for liturgical purposes, such a Normal Calendar would also be desirable (i. e. if the *dies non* feature could be eliminated). In such a Normal Year, every ferial day, every feast day, every Sunday, could have exact and unchanging representation; no interference of feasts could cause a feast to be absolutely eliminated (as at present) from the yearly succession; the Divine Office could be devoutly recited—and (unlike the present condition of things) with certainty of correctness in the Ordo—and could be freed from the daily recurring necessity of consulting intricate, complicated directions showing *how* the merely *material* business of the Divine

Office shall be arranged; the simplicity of prayer would be increased, with a not improbable increase of devotion (for, naturally, where the mind is partly preoccupied with the merely material business of hunting up the various parts of the prayer in widely separated parts of the breviary, the attention to the spiritual content of the recitation of the Office may easily be embarrassed and handicapped).

Much humor has been expended by the clergy on the need of "fingers" in the daily recitation of the Office—much humor and, we fancy, not a little occasional irritability; and yet it may happen (for in many respects mankind is notoriously illogical and inconsistent) that some clerical humor may even be directed against the present argument that simplicity would be gained by a Normal Year. We have indeed heard it argued that the very complexity of the Divine Office is something desirable. Undoubtedly it is, as the complexity of the pieces of glass of kaleidoscopic shapes and colors is desirable in a stained-glass window; for they contribute to the beauty and splendor of the window. The question here is not one of the complexity of the Office, but the complexity involved in hunting up the various components of the Office. The complexity becomes thus translatable into perplexity, loss of time, distraction of the attention from the content to the material arrangement of it, occasional irritability, and the imposition of a new and daily complication of duty where the world and our sacred ministry already place inevitable complications on their own account. Thus the plea that complexity—not in the Office but in the material saying of it—is a good thing is not unlike the plea that fleas are good for the dog: they occupy his full attention and keep him from worse things.

Much more might be adduced in support of the argument for simplicity in the saying of the Office, but the simple concrete fact that a priest will immediately prefer reciting his breviary during Holy Week, from the separate small volumes —one for each day—into which that Week is sometimes divided by publishers of breviaries, rather than from the bound volume of the Pars Verna, may be esteemed a sufficient answer to objectors. Accordingly we may place, with some confidence, conclusion number

7. Father Searle's ingenious scheme makes it possible to have a perpetual calendar identifying days of the week with those of the month, and nevertheless avoiding the liturgical pitfall of the *dies non.* His proposal would appear to meet all objections, and to satisfy all needs.

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THOMAS À KEMPIS AS A HYMN WRITER.

KEMPEN in the Diocese of Cologne can claim a most illustrious son in the person of Thomas Haemerken, or Haemerlein, better known as Thomas à Kempis (of Kempen), the immortal author of the *Imitation of Christ.* Born about the year 1380, Thomas studied at Deventer, and his youthful ideas were molded by Florence Radewyn and Arnold van Schoonhoven. From his earliest biographer we know that his studies were Grammar, Latin, and Gregorian Chant. In his twentieth year, in 1399, he entered, as a novice, the monastery of Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle, of which his brother John was Prior. The Order was that of the Brothers of the Common Life (founded in 1386 by Florence Radewyn at Windesheim), and Thomas was formally enrolled as a member in 1406, becoming a priest in 1413, in his thirty-third year. In 1425 he was elected Sub-Prior of Mount St. Agnes and was reëlected to the same position in 1448. His death took place, in the ninety-second year of his age, on 1 May,[1] 1471, the Feast of St. James the Less.

It is not however with the life of Thomas à Kempis that I am concerned, but with his powers as a hymn writer. Numerous biographers of the venerable writer have appeared, but until recently no hint was given as to his remarkable gifts in the matter of versifying. Probably the last word has been said by Sir Francis R. Cruise as to the authorship of the *Imitation of Christ*,[2] but it was not until 1881 that Pastor Spitzen published ten hymns by à Kempis, six of which had previously been issued anonymously by Mone. These ten were printed from a MS. of about the year 1480. In 1882

[1] Some authors give 26 July, and others 8 August, as the date, but Sir Francis R. Cruise inclines to 1 May.

[2] See *Thomas à Kempis*, published in 1887.

S. W. Kettlewell published in London a fine work, in two volumes, dealing with the biography of à Kempis and giving English translations in verse of his hymns by the Rev. S. J. Stone, Protestant Rector of St. Paul's, Haggerston, who died on 19 November, 1900. It was not, however, till 1905 that the true merits of à Kempis as a hymn writer were made public, by F. F. Dreves and Blume in the forty-eighth volume of the monumental *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* (Nos. 458-493). Unfortunately, this work is not very accessible, and so it may prove of interest to make known to the many readers of the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW some of the conclusions arrived at by two such able delvers in the science of hymnology.

It is now conclusively proved that Thomas à Kempis wrote a large number of beautiful hymns, which he adapted to existing plainsong melodies, as indicated in a most important Carlsruhe MS. of the fifteenth century. Space would not permit an account of all these, but the best known are " En dies est dominica ", "Apparuit benignitas ", " Veni, veni, Rex gloriae ", " In domo Patris ", " Quisquis valet numerare ", "Adversa mundi ", " O qualis quantaque laetitia ", " Nec quisquam oculis vidit ", and " Jerusalem luminosa ".

" En dies est dominica " was for long regarded as of doubtful authenticity, but Dreves and Blume[3] leave no room for further scepticism, as they prove that the cento, as found in MS. 368 of the fifteenth century at Carlsruhe, can be traced in the autograph MS. of Thomas à Kempis at Brussels, and again in the MS. copy at Zwolle. As indicated by its title it is a hymn to be sung on Sundays. In the original MS. it is adapted to the music of the Easter hymn "Ad cenam Agni providi ", the neumatic notation of which is to be found in MSS. of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In all, the lines of this hymn run to 116, and are printed in full by Mone, No. 247, from the Carlsruhe MS. The cento was translated by the Rev. J. M. Neale, and was published in 1854, but the English version in general use is that as given by the compilers of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in 1904, commencing "Again the Lord's own day is here ". I here give the first and last verses of the Latin text of this noble hymn:

[3] *Analecta* XLVIII, 475.

En dies est dominica
Summo cultu dignissima
Ob octavam dominicae
Resurrectionis sacrae.

Tibi factori temporum
Qui vera quies mentium,
Sit laus, honor, et gloria
Hac die et in saecula.

"Apparuit benignitas" is better known as "O amor quam ecstaticus", being a cento from the longer poem, taken from the Carlsruhe MS., and is unquestionably the work of Thomas à Kempis. The cento comprises verses 2, 4, 9-12, and the doxology. There is no mistaking the tune to which it was sung, as a marginal note indicates the melody as "Agnoscat omne saeculum", or "Deus creator omnium". The English translation of "O amor quam ecstaticus" is by B. Webb, in *The Hymnal Noted* (1854). Appended are the first and last verses of the original Latin text:

O Amor quam ecstaticus,
Quam effluens, quam nimius,
Qui Deum Dei filium
Unum fecit mortalium!

Deo Patri sit gloria
Per infinita saecula,
Cujus amore nimio
Salvi sumus in Filio.

"Veni, veni, Rex gloriae" is also an authentic hymn by à Kempis, and is to be found, with the musical notation, in the Carlsruhe MS. It was printed by Mone as No. 35, but without any clue to the author. The hymn runs to twenty-three stanzas, and was translated into English by Mr. T. G. Crippen in his *Ancient Hymns and Poems* (1868).

"In domo Patris" is the fourth of the hymns by à Kempis from the Carlsruhe MS. 368. Its authenticity is upheld by Dreves and Blume. The text was printed by Mone, No. 302, but no clue was furnished as to the author. A good English translation was made by the Rev. J. M. Neale, which appears as "My Father's Home Eternal" in his *Hymns chiefly Medieval on the Joys and Glories of Paradise* (1865). It is

considerably tinkered in *The English Hymnal* (1906), but Neale's setting will be found in the Rev. G. R. Woodward's *Songs of Syon* (1910).

"Quisquis valet numerare" is another cento from a longer poem by Thomas à Kempis, on the glory of the heavenly Jerusalem, in sixteen stanzas. The current cento consists of verses 1, 2, 9, 10, 11, and 16. In the Carlsruhe MS. No. 368, the music of the hymn is also given, a fine tune in the Fourth Mode. I herewith subjoin the first and last stanzas of the Latin text, as printed by Mone:

Quisquis valet numerare
Beatorum numerum,
Horum poterit pensare
Sempiternum gaudium,
Quod meruerunt intrare
Mundi post exilium.

Vitae dator, summe Parens,
Tibi benedictio;
Sit laus, decus semper clarens
Semper tuo Filio;
Sit et honor fine carens
Inclyto Paraclito.

"Adversa mundi tolera" is found with the name of Thomas à Kempis in a MS. of the year 1480 at Zwolle, and is also to be found in his *Opera*,[4] entitled "Canticum de virtute patientiae". It is in twenty-nine lines, arranged as eleven, but the full text has been printed by Wackernagel's *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, Vol. I, No. 377. Father Caswall translated five stanzas, in his *Masque of Mary*, under the title of "For Christ's dear sake with courage bear" (1858).

"O qualis quantaque laetitia" is to be found as the composition of Thomas à Kempis in a MS. of the year 1480 at Zwolle, and also in his *Opera* (Nürnberg, 1494), under the title of "Hymn on the Joys of Heaven and the Nine Angelic Choirs". Wackernagel prints the full text, but an excellent English translation of the cento has been furnished by the Rev. G. R. Woodward in his *Songs of Syon* (1910), under the title of "Quires of Angels stand before Him". I cannot

[4] Nürnberg, 1494.

resist the temptation of quoting the first and last stanzas of this admirable translation, which faithfully reproduces the spirit of the original text, and serves to show the poetic powers of Mr. Woodward:

Quires of Angels stand before Him—
God their Maker aye adore Him,
See the King in all His beauty,
Worshipping in bounden duty;
While, in tune with holy voices,
Ev'ry loving heart rejoices.

There fair folk in white apparel
Love as brethren, seek no quarrel:
There is knowledge, no temptation,
No more toil and no vexation;
There is health, but sickness never;
Fulness there of joy forever.

"Nec quisquam oculis vidit" is found in the oft-quoted Carlsruhe MS., and also in the Zwolle MS. of 1480, belonging to the Brethren of the Common Life, now in the library of the Emmanuelshuizen. It was printed by Mone, and is the third portion of a long poem on eternal life. It consists of eighty-four lines, and is headed "On the glory of the Heavenly Jerusalem". A portion of it was translated into English by J. M. Neale, in his *Hymns chiefly Medieval on the Joys and Glories of Paradise* (1865).

"Jerusalem luminosa" is a cento consisting of Nos. 1, 4, 5, 15-17, of seventeen stanzas, undoubtedly written by Thomas à Kempis, and it is one of seven which are to be found in both the Carlsruhe and the Zwolle MS. It was sung to the melody of "Urbs beata Jerusalem", and was translated by J. M. Neale, in 1854. I subjoin the original text of the first and last verses:

Jerusalem luminosa,
Verae pacis visio,
Felix nimis ac formosa,
Summi regis mansio,
De te O quam gloriosa
Dicta sunt a saeculo!

Aeterne glorificata
Sit beata Trinitas,
A qua coelestis fundata
Jerusalem civitas,
In qua sibi frequentata
Sit laudis immensitas.

Neale's English translation of "Jerusalem luminosa" was written in 1854, and published in *The Hymnal Noted*, but the whole of the nine verses will be found in *Songs of Syon* (1910). I append the first verse, which can be compared with the Latin text.

Light's abode, celestial Salem,
Vision whence true peace doth spring,
Brighter than the heart can fancy,
Mansion of the highest King;
O how glorious are the praises
Which of thee the prophets sing!

It may not be amiss to devote a concluding paragraph to the Brethren of the Common Life, the Congregation to which Thomas à Kempis belonged, and to the probable date of the hymns just mentioned. The community was founded by Florentius Radewyn, on the initiative of Gerard Groot, in 1836, at Windesheim near Zwolle. Within a quarter of a century it absorbed over seventy houses of Augustinian Canons. From reliable sources we are safe in assuming that à Kempis wrote the *Imitation of Christ* between the years 1408 and 1418. As before stated, he was ordained a priest in 1413, and his *magnum opus* was completed about the year 1418. Probably his hymns are from the same period, but they were certainly written before the year 1425. It is significant that Adrian de But, a Cistercian monk of Dunes Abbey, in 1459 (twelve years before the death of à Kempis) refers to the *Imitation* as "a metrical or rhythmical volume", and in some old manuscripts the work bears the name of "Musica Ecclesiastica". In fact the rhythm and rhyme of the *Imitation* are among the internal evidences for à Kempis's authorship. It has been proved by Dr. Carl Hirsche, of Hamburg, that in addition to the ordinary system of punctuation in the *Imitation* à Kempis adopted the clivis as used in the musical

notation of the period, and he made use of musical signs to insure a certain rhythmical cadence to charm the ears of the listeners.

Perhaps at no far distant date some Catholic hymnologist will bring out a handy edition of the hymns of Thomas à Kempis, with music, and thus provide a feast for the thousands of readers of the *Imitation* who as yet are unacquainted with the great lyrical powers of the saintly Sub-Prior of Mount St. Agnes, Zwolle.

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BABYLONIAN LEGISLATION 4500 YEARS AGO.

SOME years ago Father Scheil was elected a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, by thirty votes out of thirty-three. He was the first candidate both of the Collège de France, and the Académie, the two constituent bodies. Yet he was passed over by the Government, against all precedent, in favor of one of the second candidates. "Father Scheil," wrote the Editor of the *Saturday Review* by way of comment, "is the illustrious scholar who has deciphered the Laws of Hammurabi, but he has the fatal flaw, in the eyes of a French Republican Ministry, of being a Christian." [1] And we may add that he labors under a flaw still more fatal in the estimation of a Ministry whose motto is "Liberty and Equality", by being a member of the great Order of St. Dominic.

But who was Hammurabi, and what about his laws? And how have they come down to us, cryptic, yet decipherable?

It was as recently as the winter of 1901-2, that M. de Morgan, the French explorer, was making excavations at Susa, in Persia. By a very happy accident, he unearthed a large block of black diorite (a kind of crystalline trap rock) on which were engraved, in cuneiform characters, forty-nine columns of writing, of which forty-four were sufficiently preserved to be legible. Legible that is, to the exceptionally few scholars who, by talent and perseverance, had mastered

[1] *Saturday Review*, 26 December, London, 1908.

the very ancient written symbolism of that very ancient period. The writing proved to be a complete Code of Laws, some 280 of them being readable. They relate to trade, agriculture, building, marriage, and the many interests which make up civilization. The writing occupies the lower part of the stone; on the upper, there is a relievo, representing Hammurabi receiving a tablet, inscribed, from the Babylonian Sun-god, Shamash. This stone is now in the Paris Museum.

No discovery up till now, has shed so much light on those remote ages. It is as if a window had suddenly been opened, through which we look out directly upon the living Babylon, as it might have appeared to the eye of Abraham; so it might well be, since he was a contemporary with Hammurabi, and like that illustrious man, a native of those cradle lands watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates.

Though in our own day they are mere swamps, the alluvial lands about the confluence of those two historic rivers, were once the well-ordered dwelling-place of highly civilized communities. The spade there has dug up some of the long-buried remains of an almost unknown race, the Sumerians, to whom we stand largely indebted, even though they loom but dimly on the horizon of history. Dwelling beside the Tigris and Euphrates, they do not seem to have been themselves the original inhabitants, for they came to those fertile plains as conquerors, bringing with them a quite advanced civilization. From them it was that their Babylonian and Assyrian conquerors gradually adopted most of their own later civilization. From the Sumerians, the Babylonians learnt how to manufacture pottery, and some of the sculpture of the defeated race still survives, to give us evidence of the high level of their industrial art. The Sumerians had originated a system of writing, of which traces remain to show us a gradual development, from mere picture writing to conventional phonetic symbols. From this remote ancestry, our own alphabet can trace an irregular but distinct descent.

When or at what stage in the world's history did they live? Certainly, they appear as a civilized people some 4000 years before the birth of our Lord, quite 2000 years before Abraham went out from Ur of the Chaldees, and 3000 before Moses gave his Law to the children of Israel.

This preface is necessary to bring home to us the venerable antiquity of customs which, in process of time, crystallized into Law, and were still further solidified when they were classified, arranged, and engraved on enduring stone by a great man. A truly great man, not great in the conventional phrase, by the wholesale slaughter of his fellow-man, and the widespread devastation of hearths and homes, but great because of his thought for the building up of peaceful social order and civic well-being. Yet, till quite a few years ago, his name was actually unknown. Unknown that is, by the name of Hammurabi, though it is practically certain that Hammurabi is the Amraphel of Genesis, the contemporary of Abraham, which gives his date as about 2200 before the birth of Christ.

Before the discovery of his Laws, many "letters" of Hammurabi had been found, and a great number of these are now in the British Museum. Lest we be deluded by the familiar sound of a word, we must remember that in his time a "letter" was in the form of a tablet of baked clay, generally enclosed within a thinner case of similar hard clay, forming an earthen envelope on which were written names and addresses. This outer case had to be broken by the recipient. Now among the letters of this king, there is one of quite peculiar interest. We know from the eleventh chapter of Genesis, that Abraham was a native of the city of Ur. "And Thare took Abram his son, . . . and Sarah . . . the wife of Abram his son, and brought them out of Ur of the Chaldees."

This letter to which I am alluding was written to the governor of a province, and in it Hammurabi gives orders concerning some of his troops quartered in the city of Ur. It was doubted at one time whether Ur was a city or a district, so that this evidence is very much to the point in deciding the uncertainty. While Abraham was a wanderer in the land of Chanaan he was also the contemporary of a civilization already old, and as Hammurabi speaks of a provision of corn and wine and clothing, it proves that there was at the time a settled government, besides the knowledge of the textile arts.

Most probably, Hammurabi and his people were Arabs, certainly of Semitic race. The face sculptured on the stone, shows a civilized, shrewd, thoughtful, and kindly expression

with a pleasant half-smile on the finely cut lips. The upper lip is close shaven, while the beard is just shaven free of the lower lip, but leaving a full, long, flowing beard. It is a face one would not find out of place as the portrait of a modern man, charged with high employment.

Besides its positive legal enactments, Hammurabi's Code opens out volumes of information, directly and indirectly, as to the manner of life, the style of government (a paternal despotism), the manner of social life, the grades and classes into which society was at that time divided. From the laws, we learn how houses were leased, how maps of boundaries were drawn, how they assessed lands for taxation, how they held courts of Law, how witnesses were heard and summoned from distant localities to give evidence, and their just expenses repaid to them; also on what terms agricultural land was let, and bequeathed to posterity. In short, all the multitudinous interests of a civilized community are made to live again before us; all is explained to us, in the very words of those who bought and sold, who borrowed, and forgot to pay back, in those far-off days, very much as we ourselves do now.

When Hammurabi was King of Babylon, his population was divided into three distinct classes. Lowest in the scale, naturally, came the slaves; next the middle class, prosperous for the most part, small landowners, merchants, professional men, generally, and then the upper class, consisting of the great officials, the large landowners, governors of provinces, and ministers of State. The numerous slaves seem on the whole to have been well treated. It is true that they were bought and sold, yet they were not necessarily condemned to remain slaves for ever and aye. Under certain conditions, the slave could acquire property, and purchase his freedom. Often enough the slave was a man of good position in his own country, of allied race, sold into slavery by the fortune of war.

A man who was a slave could marry a free woman, and their children were free. If such a slave died, his widow could claim half his property for herself and her children. A female slave who had borne children to her master could not be sold for debt. In his master's house the lot of a slave was not hard; it was, evidently, the owner's best policy to keep his working household in good health. Any man who stole a slave, male or female, was put to death.

The middle class was mainly commercial. Many of the laws which have been deciphered concern debtors and creditors, and tell us much about the business methods of those ancient days. Yet ancient as they are, the more we know about them the more we see that length of time makes but little difference in all that is essentially human, and we differ more from Esquimaux of to-day than we do from the Babylonian almost at the dawn of history. The Babylonian merchant of that time sent out agents to sell his corn, oil, wool, and so on. The agent did his best, using his own judgment, and on his return was paid a fixed proportion of the profits he had realized. He had to give a written and legal receipt for his trading transactions. Traveling was admittedly hazardous and many disputes arose from the loss of goods looted by wandering bandits. The agent made his statement, and deposed on oath as to the amount of his loss, and he was then held free from responsibility. But if he were found to have deceived his employer, he was compelled to restore threefold the value of his defalcations. In our museums there are many clay tablets which give the terms of contract between merchants and their foreign agents.

In the upper classes life was naturally more expensive. This appears incidentally in the way the Law treats the wealthy delinquent. One of the upper class who might be found guilty of stealing was bound to pay the lawful owner thirty times the value of the things stolen. For the same offence one of the middle class was obliged to restore only tenfold. The slave who was found stealing met with small mercy, and having no property, he was summarily put to death. The primitive law of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," was enforced literally, when the aggressor and the aggrieved were both of the first rank. When the aggrieved was of inferior rank, his injuries were compensated by a fixed money compensation.

If the upper class had social eminence, they had to pay for it. Thus the upper class had to pay higher doctors' fees, which sounds profitable for the doctor till we find another law which enacts that any doctor who operated unskillfully, and caused death, was punished by the amputation of both hands. This law did not tend to encourage surgical oper-

ations; it certainly thinned out the number of unsuccessful operators. But the surgeon was not wholly deprived of practice. The middle class appear to have been considered fair game for the experimenting surgeon. No doubt they were fairly numerous, and a few more or less would not matter much to the nation. So if the unlucky patient who died under an operation was only of the middle class, the doctor was free from any penalty, just as he is amongst us, independently of the rank of the patient. If, however, the doctor killed a slave, the doctor had to give another slave to the owner, since a slave had a recognized value.

The housing of the population received due attention. Probably there had been defective building before the days of Hammurabi, but the jerry-builder did not flourish in his time; the great man saw to that. A Babylonian house was solid, of one story only, with a flat roof, on which the inmates mostly slept. All houses were substantially built of hard brick. The law put all responsibility for bad building on the shoulders of the builder. If a badly built house fell, and killed the owner, the jerry-builder was put to death. If it chanced to be the owner's son who was killed, then was a son of the builder also killed. If the slain were slaves, the builder had to restore slave for slave. In addition, the builder had to make good any damage to property, and rebuild the house at his own cost. These laws may help to account for the fact that some of the work done in the days of Hammurabi has lasted down to our own times.

Agriculture and gardening were studied, and had their full measure of legislation. Land for gardens and orchards might be had free of rent for four years. After that period the planter might retain one-half of the garden, while the other half reverted to the original landlord. The tenant usually paid his landlord in kind, assessed at a third of the yearly crop. Damage done by storm and flood was made good by the owner, not by the tenant alone. The ingrained habit of cattle to stray into pastures not their own was fully developed in Babylonian herds, and gave occasion to many laws and much wise legislation.

The owner of cattle which did damage was fined according to the loss incurred, provided it could be proved that he

had been careless and negligent in looking after his beasts; on the other hand he was not held liable for damage which he could not foresee and prevent.

Legislation shows us that there existed a well-organized family life, and that the marriage tie was held in special respect. The civilization of a nation is largely evidenced by the position it accords to its women, and woman's place is mainly fixed by the position held by her on her marriage, as it is by marriage that woman, naturally speaking, enters on her own peculiar empire. The Babylonians of that period did not lightly contract marriages. The various claims that hover about the matrimonial contract, were duly made subjects of careful legislation. No marriage was a legal and binding contract, unless it had been performed according to a fixed ceremony, and legally attested by a written marriage contract. Once this contract was signed, it was obligatory and inviolable. A woman who was unfaithful to her marriage oath, was punished by drowning, together with her guilty partner. But a husband could save his guilty wife by a special appeal to the king. Such merciful appeals must have been made, or we should not have found any legislation on the subject, as it would have been clearly useless to legislate for what could never happen. If a husband brought an accusation against his wife, but could produce no sufficient evidence, the wife could rebut the accusation by her own oath as to her innocence.

All this legislation is testimony to the elevated position then held by women; and these laws are numerous. A husband was bound to support his wife, not in any way, but suitably to his position in life, and if a husband deserted his wife, he was still bound to maintain her in a suitable way. Under certain conditions a wife whose husband deserted her of his own accord, could become the wife of another man. The clause "of his own accord" was inserted in the law, as in those warlike times husbands were not unfrequently made prisoners of war. Sometimes they came back; often enough they did not. The wife of a man taken prisoner was to live on the property of her captive husband, if he possessed property sufficient for her maintenance. In that case she could not contract another marriage. If a wife thus sufficiently

provided for, nevertheless did contract a second marriage, she was prosecuted at law, and drowned as an adulteress. But the wife who was left destitute was allowed to marry again, for it was argued that, as she was thrown on her own resources, she could do nothing better. If the husband of the remarried wife eventually came back from captivity, he could claim his wife, but any children born remained with their father. If we bear the times in mind, all these laws show us woman in a position on the whole definite and intended to be honorable.

While marriage was legally protected, divorce was also the subject of many legal enactments. We are not surprised to find that divorce was easier for the husband than for the wife, still, if a wife was divorced, her quondam husband was obliged to make proper provision for her, suitable maintenance. If she had brought a marriage portion, it was returned, and she had the custody of her own children. While the divorced wife kept the children, the husband was to give sufficient both for the support and the education of the children. If she had not brought any marriage portion, the husband was bound to provide for her in accordance with his, and consequently with her, social position.

All this legislation quite favorable to the unappreciated wife, seems based on natural justice, and did not tend to make divorce too easy for those that way inclined. The woman who was legally blameless had not to suffer materially for the whims and fancies of her husband. The law allowed him to indulge his whim, but it was a costly indulgence, so he was made to feel where such a man is apt to feel most keenly, in his pocket.

When the wife was blameworthy, the fault had to be legally proved; and if she had not observed her wifely duties, or was extravagant, divorce was a punishment for positive guilt, and the guilty wife might be divorced without compensation, or reduced to slavery within the household. But it seems that she could not be sold into slavery outside the family, taken in its wide sense. Permanent ill health on the part of a wife was not recognized as a ground for divorce. Under certain conditions a woman could divorce her husband, and if she could prove that her life had been blameless, she could re-

turn to her family, and take back her marriage portion with her.

It is quite evident from these laws that Babylonian women enjoyed a freedom and independence unusual amongst the nations of antiquity. These marriage enactments also throw light on a passage in the life of Abraham, narrated in the 16th chapter of Genesis. If not of Babylonian stock, at any rate Abraham lived in touch with Babylonian civilization, and the conduct of both himself and his family would not unnaturally be guided by Babylonian custom. When Sarah became jealous of her handmaiden, and complained to her husband about her, he answered: "Behold, thy handmaiden is in thy own hand, use her as it pleaseth thee." Now according to the Code of Hammurabi, the handmaiden who had borne offspring, still remained in subjection to the principal wife, who had the right, if the handmaid became too forward, of branding her as a slave. It is not too much to assume that both Abraham and Sarah were well acquainted with existing Babylonian laws and customs, and it was quite in accordance with these laws that Abraham said to Sarah his wife, when she complained of her handmaid, Agar, "Use her as it pleaseth thee"; as this was only the acknowledgment of the power which a Babylonian lady of her time legally possessed. We do not know whether Agar was branded; probably she was not; but we are told that "Sarah afflicted her," and that Agar ran away.

The relatively high position of women in Babylon is incidentally brought out by the existence of a very peculiar institution, which does not seem to have any parallel in any Eastern country, ancient or modern. This was a sort of order of unmarried women, who were vowed to perpetual virginity. Many references have been found concerning them in the brick documents which have come down to us, and their position was at first quite misunderstood. They were thought to be Priestesses, a title which conveyed a meaning similar to that of Nautch girls in India, or Geishas in Japan. But from the laws of Hammurabi we find that they were really a sort of Vestal Virgin community. They were sometimes employed in the service of temples; but their position was socially and morally most honorable; they had much inde-

pendence, and great influence in social life. As a rule, they dwelt in communities, but this residence does not seem to have been essential. Near some of the greater temples, there were buildings set apart for them. They were apparently free to come and go, to engage in commerce, to own land and farms, and might contract legal matrimony, on condition that when legally married, their obligation to virginity always remained. The law provided that, should the husband desire posterity, while the Vestal herself might not undertake the duties of motherhood, she could provide a handmaiden, exactly as we find Sarah acting with respect to her Egyptian maiden Agar, already alluded to. "Now Sarah, the wife of Abraham, having a handmaid, an Egyptian named Agar, took the Egyptian . . . and gave her to her husband to wife." Here again, Sarah seems to be following the quite legal and recognized custom of the Babylonian days in which she lived. And this throws a favorable light on what seems to us a very abnormal, and reprehensible proceeding. Yet in Sarah's day it was quite correct and legally proper.

These Babylonian Vestals, if we may so call them for want of a more distinctive name, had many legal rights. Though unmarried, they had the legal status of a married woman. Their good name was carefully guarded by law. The law numbered 127 reads: "If any man has caused the fingers to be pointed against a Vestal, and has not justified it, they shall set that man before the judges, and mark his forehead." However good a woman may be, she can not always escape the scandalmonger, and the fact that such a law should exist is a proof of the care taken to safeguard this order of women, whilst it indicates the high standard of moral conduct expected of her. Her considerable personal freedom is incidentally shown by the law numbered 110, which reads: "If a Vestal who dwells not in a cloister, should open a wine shop, or enter a wine-house to drink, that female they shall burn." A very drastic punishment for the offence, but it proves the high status from which such a lapse was measured.

She had rights of property. Her father gave her the same dowry as if she had married. This property remained exclusively her own, and could not be appropriated by the temple to which she might be attached. Her relatives man-

aged her property for her. It could be let to tenants if she wished. She could inherit property; yet she was free from the property tax. Property which she herself bought, she could bequeath at will on her demise; but all the property she had received from her father had to revert to her family when she died. A very wise law, and one evidently intended to prevent lawsuits. We find that ladies of the royal family were numbered amongst these Vestals, a sufficient proof that their social standing was distinctly high.

These various laws concerning marriage, divorce, property of widows and divorcées, as well as the social importance and independence given to the Vestals, all combine to show that a very honorable conception of womanhood existed in that ancient civilization; and it is not a little remarkable that, though the Babylonians treated women with such marked social distinction, they do not seem to have had any female divinity similar to the Assyrian "Ishtar," held in such honor close by at Nineve.

Invocations to all manner of gods, in all vicissitudes, abundantly prove that the Babylonian was thoroughly religious. The letters of Hammurabi show that he took a great interest in the due worship of the gods; he saw to it that religious ceremonies were carried out with becoming respect, and with carefully observed ritual. No doubt, there was superstition at the base of all this; but it also shows that he realized that all did not begin and end with man. In a dim way, an erroneous way, he perceived the existence of a super-human power. Though his perception was distorted by the mists of polytheism through which he gazed, he was nevertheless true to his convictions, such as they were. He watched over the herds and flocks, and over the revenues of the temples, and exacted detailed reports from those in charge. We know that once, when he had to decide in a lawsuit concerning the title to some property, hearing that the plaintiff was the chief baker of the temple, whose duty it was to supervize certain offerings on an important feast day, he adjourned the trial, so that the baker should not be absent from his post on such an important occasion. He showed no less respect toward the gods of other nations. We possess a letter of his in which he gives orders for the safe return of some captured Elamite

goddess, directing that sheep should be given to the captive priestesses, for the due performance of their own sacrifices, on their return from the captivity from which he freed them.

Laws may be excellent as laws, yet remain practically dead letters. As for the laws of Hammurabi, there have been found large numbers of his dispatches, addressed to local governors, instructions regarding the settlement of legal difficulties, and a larger miscellaneous correspondence to prove that his laws were not allowed to fall into desuetude.

Naturally, with altered types of civilization, the wording of laws has changed, points of view have shifted, the ease and frequency of international intercommunication have modified very much the outward conditions of life. But the social instincts of men, their tendency to overstep just limits, their need of authoritative guidance are to-day still much the same as they were of old in Babylon. The old laws of Hammurabi come like a message to our distant age, to awaken us from our self-sufficiency and to show us a model of sensible law for mankind as yet in the making.

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ABOUT BELLS.

IN the books of Exodus and Ecclesiasticus the ornaments of the high priest's ephod include bells, so that "their sound might be heard whenever he goeth in or cometh out of the sanctuary." Their use in the Eastern Church obtains even to this day, bells being found, as they were of old, on the fringe of priestly garments.

The oral law of the Jews, consisting of many traditions touching the Mosaic law, tells that the ancient Hebrews employed also larger bells, which were called Megeruphita. These were used on different occasions by the multitude of temple officers, and caused frequently such noise in the streets of Jerusalem that it was hard to catch the words of a speaker. Their chief purpose was threefold. One was to call the priests for services, the second to summon the Levites to come and sing, and the third to apprize persons that the unclean might be brought to the gate named Nicanor. The great

sound of these bells, so says the Mishna, when sounded at their fullest power, could be heard quite eighteen miles from Jerusalem.

When the age of the Christian Church was but three or four centuries, assemblage at divine service was necessarily done as quietly as possible, as during heathen persecutions, the use of bells or Semantrons would have dangerously excited public attention. It is well known that owing to the necessity of safeguarding the lives of the Christians and above all the priests, during the early ages of the persecutions, extreme care was exercised that the "gatherings of the faithful might be entirely private." They were assembled by some secret signs known among themselves.

Semantrons, struck with a mallet of hard wood, are sounding boards or clappers, still used in many Oriental churches, particularly those within the Turkish dominions, since bells were not known among them until the ninth century. These contrivances are much like what we of the Latin rite use on Good Friday.

During the last days of Holy Week—called in old days, "The Still Week," and "The Week of the Suffering"—bells are not used, out of reverence for the passion and death of the Redeemer. Pope Benedict XIV alleges the mystic reason for this suspension of the use of bells, that they typify "the preachers of the Word of God, and all preaching ceased from our Lord's apprehension until after He had risen from the dead. The Apostles, too, when they saw His bitter torments, and the indignities to which He was subjected by the Jews, stole away from Him silently and left Him alone.

One Holy Week spent in one of the Castelli near Rome, when health reasons prevented me from going on foot to the Sepulchres at Albano, Aviccia, etc., the driver of our carriage had taken the bells off the horse's harness. The clappers in those regions were of course used, called *tavolette*. Many pious peasants there make what is called the Fast of the Bells, i. e. they do not touch food between the Gloria of the Holy Thursday Mass until that of the one on Holy Saturday. Those who have heard all Rome ring out her countless bells, can remember the wonderful thrill felt which the joy thus announced calls forth.

There are wooden and iron semantrons, the ancient Syrian harking back to Noe as being the inventor of the former. For it is supposed that God spoke to him as follows: "Make for yourself a bell of boxwood, which is not liable to corruption, three cubits long and one and a half wide, and also a smaller one from the same wood. Strike this instrument three separate times every day: once in the morning to summon the hands to the ark, once at midday to call them to dinner, and once in the evening to call them to rest." "The peculiar symbolism," says O'Brien in his book on the Mass, "attached to this 'holy wood', as the *semantron* is often denominated, is, to say the least, very significant. The sound of the wood, for instance, recalls to mind the fact that it was the wood of the Garden of Eden which caused Adam to fall when he plucked its fruit contrary to the command of God; now the same sound recalls another great event to mind, viz., the noise made in nailing to the wood of the Cross the Saviour of the world, who came to atone for Adam's transgression." This idea is beautifully expressed in the Preface of the Cross.

In monasteries after the time of their reunion under Constantine, the hours of the Office, prayer, etc., were announced by the blowing of a trumpet, or rapping with a hammer at the cells of the monks. In a celebrated work by Strabo on the Divine Offices, written about the ninth century, he speaks of bells not having been long in use, and having been introduced from Italy; but as a fact, really little is known concerning the date when they were introduced. St. Paulinus of Nola and Pope Sabian in the seventh century are each credited with the introduction of bells at Mass. From what I can gather it seems probable that Pope Sabian first brought in the practice. Onuphrius Panvinius says of him: "This Pontiff introduced the use of the bells, and ordained that they be rung in the church at the canonical hours and during the Sacrifice of the Mass."

The history of St. Lupus of Sens contains the statement that church bells were said to be known in France quite two centuries before the time of Strabo.[1] From the same source we learn that the Maronites adopted the ringing of church

[1] Fleury, Hist., xlviii, 42.

bells from the Latins on their reunion with the Catholic Church in the twelfth century.

From the Campanian metal of which they are often made is derived the word *campana*. The large bells are termed *campanae*; small ones *nolae*, and very small ones *tintinabulae*. *Cloccae* first occurs in Bonifacius, and comes from the French word *cloche*, or possibly from the old German *chlachan*. *Frangi* are the large bells of cast metal that appeared first in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The largest in actual use in the world is the second Moscow bell, weighing 128 tons. The Kaiserglocke of Cologne Cathedral weighs 25 tons; the great bell of Pekin, 53 tons, the bell of Notre Dame, 17 tons; Big Ben of Westminster, 14 tons, and Tom of Lincoln, 5 tons.

Solemn ceremonies precede the dedicating of bells for sacred purposes, according to a form prescribed in the Pontifical called "the blessing of a bell," though the popular term, "the baptism of a bell" was used as early as the eleventh century. Only a Bishop can bless or baptize a bell.

The oil used is the *oleum infirmorum* for the outside of the bell, and the oil of chrism for the inside. The Bishop prays repeatedly that the sound of the bell may avail to summon the faithful, that it may excite their devotion, drive away storms, and terrify evil spirits. Bells, being consecrated, cannot be rung without the consent of the ecclesiastical authorities. Each bell receives a special name, and has its own sponsor.

We read that in England the ceremony of blessing a bell was up to the Reformation carried out with great pomp. The ecclesiastics followed all the ceremonies employed in the christening of children. "Costly feasts were given, and even in poor villages, a hundred gold crowns were sometimes spent on the ceremony." In the churchwarden accounts of St. Lawrence, Reading, 1499, occurs the following: "Payed for halowing of the bell named Harry, vjs. viijd. And over that, Sir William Symes, Richard Clech, and Mistress Smyth, being godfaders and godmother at the consecratyon of the same bell, and berying all other costs to the suffragon." [2]

The object of ringing small bells at Mass is to arouse the attention and devotion of the faithful. The custom of ring-

[2] *Quarterly Review*, 1854.

ing for the Elevation began in France during the twelfth century, whence it was introduced into Germany in the thirteenth, by Cardinal Gui, legate of the Holy See. In England we find it, about the same time, to be a practice enjoined by several Councils, and the statutes of some monastic orders ordained the ringing of the large bell during the Mass. Ivo of Chartres, whose death is recorded in 1115, congratulated Maud Queen of England on having presented the church of Our Lady at Chartres with bells which were rung at the consecration.

The ringing of a bell at the Elevation came into use when the custom of elevating the Host had been generally adopted in the Church. In English-speaking countries the bell is also rung as the priest spreads his hands over the Host and chalice before the Consecration, and at the "Domine, non sum dignus," before the Communion of the priest. When the Blessed Sacrament is exposed a bell is never rung, nor in the private chapel of the Vatican when the Pope says or hears Mass.[3]

According to Dr. Rock, at the celebration of Mass, "as the priest said the Sanctus, etc., the custom formerly was to toll three strokes on a bell which was hung in a bell cote between the chancel and the nave, that the rope might fall at a short distance from the spot where knelt the youth or person who served at Mass." From the first part of its use this bell got the name of the "Saints", "Santys", or "Sanctus", bell, and many notices about it are to be met with in medieval church accounts. From the same source we gather that in many places there were two distinct bells, one for the Sanctus, the other for the Elevation. The latter bell, made of silver, was sometimes called the Sacring bell. On hearing the Sacring bell's first tinkle, those in church who were not already on their knees, knelt down, and with upraised hands worshipped their Maker lifted high before them.

An old man, who died in Wiltshire at the age of 110, remembered in the "time of the old law, eighteen little bells that hung in the middle of the parish church, which, the pulling one wheel, made them all ring." This was done at the Elevation of the Host. Pairs of ornamental iron discs

[3] Benedict XIV. De Miss., ii. 11, 19; 15, 31.

of medieval character, supposed remains of such wheels, still exist at Yaxley in Suffolk, and at Long Stratton, Norfolk. A "Wakerell" or "Wagerell" bell is entered in inventories of 1552.

The Angelus bell, always rung thrice a day, obtains its name from the first word of the prayer. In Tuscany a bell is rung an hour before the evening Angelus or Ave bell, which on enquiry I discovered to be intended to remind its hearers to say the Creed, while the De Profundis bell sounds one hour after the Ave.

In Italy, on Friday afternoon at three o'clock thirty-three strokes are sounded in many churches and convents in memory of our Lord's death at the age of thirty-three; and probably the custom obtains elsewhere.

The power of a bell to drive away storms, etc., is due entirely to the solemn blessings and prayers of the Church, no superstitious efficacy being attributed to the bell itself, though some Protestant writers persist in believing that the contrary is intended. In old manuscripts as well as in many churchwardens' accounts, payments are entered as having been made for "ringing the hallowed bells in grete tempestes and lightninges," for "ringing in the thundering", for the ringers' refreshments, for "ringing all the tyme of gret thunder", etc., etc. It was at one time customary at Malmesbury Abbey during a thunder storm, to ring St. Adhelm's Bell; and from Wynken de Worde we learn of the ringing of bells in thunderstorms "to the end that fiends and wicked spirits should be abashed and flee, and cease the moving of the tempest".

An old custom is now kept up on the eve of Corpus Christi, when the choir of Durham Cathedral go up the tower clad in their surplices and sing the Te Deum. This is done in commemoration of the miraculous extinguishing of a terrible fire which took place on that night, A. D. 1429. The miracle was attributed to the prayers of St. Cuthbert, whose body is said by some to be enshrined in the cathedral.

Many tales of the supernatural are told concerning evil spirits and the efficacy of bells in warding them off; likewise regarding the power of consecrated bells for bringing blessings. In an old chapel at Killin in Perthshire was a bell called that of St. Fillan, which had the reputation of curing

lunacy. After the sufferer had been dipped in the pool of St. Fillan and had spent a night in the chapel, he was in the morning placed with great solemnity, under the bell; and in many cases recorded the act of faith was rewarded by cure. There are numerous legends that such bells would, if stolen, return to their own home, ringing all the way. Of an Irish bell in Leinster it is related that when a chieftain of Wicklow had obtained possession of it, he had to tie it up to prevent its escaping to St. Fillan's church in Meath, where it usually abode. A like tale is told of the bell of St. Illfyd which, having been stolen by a king, "The king was destroyed, but repenting before his death, he ordered the bell to be restored to its place in Wales. Without waiting to be driven, the horse with the bell about his neck set out for Wales, followed by a whole drove of horses, drawn by the melodious sound of the bell. The horse was even able to cross the River Severn and make its entry into Wales, the other horses following. Then, hastening along the shore, over the mountains and through the woods, it finally reached the banks of the River Taf, where a clergyman, hearing the sweet sound of the bell, went out to meet the horse, and helped in carrying the bell to the gate of St. Illfyd's church. As the horse lowered its neck, the bell fell on a stone, from which fall a part of it was broken." [4]

Among the records of other stolen bells is that of one from Soissons in Burgundy, which Clothaire carried away. The bell objected to the act by gradually becoming dumb on the journey to Paris, where its voice was discovered to be gone; but its voice returned in such full force when the bell was sent home, that its tone could be heard seven miles distant.

Spelman in his *History of Sacrilege* gives some interesting information about bells. "When I was a child I heard much talk of the pulling down of bells in every part of my county, the county of Norfolk, then common in memory; and the sum of the speech usually was, that in sending them oversea, some were drowned in one haven, some in another, as at Lynn, Wells, or Yarmouth. I dare not venture upon particulars, for that, I then hearing it as a child, regarded it as a child. But the truth of it was lately discovered by God himself, for

[4] Wirt Sikes, *British Goblins.*

that in the year. . . . He sending such a dead neap (as they call it) as no man living was known to have seen the like, the sea fell so back from the land at Hunstanton that the people, going much further to gather oysters than they had done at any time before, they there found a bell with the mouth upward, sunk into the ground to the very brim. They carried the news thereof to Sir Hamon L'Estrange, lord of the town and of wreck and searight there, who shortly after sought to have weighed up and gain the bell; but the sea, never since going so far back as hitherto, they could not find the place again." He also tells us of a clockier or bell-house which in Henry VIII's reign adjoined St. Paul's church in London, with four great bells in it called Jesus bells. Sir Miles Partridge, a courtier, once "played at dice with the king for these bells, staking £100 against them and won them, and then melted and sold them, to a very great gain." But in the fifth year of Edward VI, this gamester had worse fortune, when he lost his life, being executed on Tower Hill, for matters concerning the Duke of Somerest.

In the year 1541, Arthur Bulkley, Bishop of Bangor, sacrilegiously sold the first five bells belonging to the Cathedral, and went to the seaside to see them shipped away; but at that instant he was stricken blind, and so continued to the day of his death.

Any sacrilege or profanation of bells, so sacredly blessed and set apart for holy purposes, seems to have met with punishment. Forrabury church in Cornwall has a tower, often termed the Silent Tower of Bottreaux, because it has no bells. The reason for the absence of bells, as given by Hunt in his *Popular Romances of the West of England*, is as follows: Some years ago the Forrabury parishioners wanted to have a peal of bells which would equal those of the church of Tintagel, not far off. The bells were cast, blessed with the usual rites, then sent off to Forrabury; but as the vessel, after making a good voyage, neared the northern part of the Cornish coast, the pilot heard the vesper bells of Tintagel, and thanked God for his quick and safe journey. This act of piety caused the captain to laugh and swear that the safe voyage was due to his own skill as a captain as well as that of his men, and not to what he termed the pilot's super-

stitious prayer. While yet employed in swearing and cursing, the ocean swelled suddenly, and rolling toward the land, overwhelmed everything in its course. As the ship sank, muffled bells were heard tolling; and now when storms are coming, the sound can be heard under the waves.

Of the twelve parish churches of the island of Jersey—each possessed costly bells. One of these churches sold its bells to defray the expenses of the troops in a long civil war. The ship on which the alienated bells were being sent to France, foundered and all was lost. Ever since then the bells ring from the depth of the sea, the fishermen of St. Ouen's bay always approaching the water's edge to listen for the sound which, if heard, prevents them trusting themselves to set sail. Similar traditions are connected with Tunstall in Norfolk, Blackpool, and Echingham, Sussex.

Mr. Thisleton Dyer, to whose work on ecclesiastical folklore I am much indebted, tells us: "At a place known as Fishery Brow, near Kirby Lonsdale, there is a sort of natural hollow scooped out, where, as the legend runs, a church, parson, and congregation were swallowed up, and here the bells may be heard ringing on a Sunday morning by anyone who puts his ear to the ground. A similar fate is said to have befallen the village of Raleigh, in Nottinghamshire, and it was formerly customary for the inhabitants on Christmas morning to go out into the valley and listen to the mysterious chimes of their lost parish church."

One of the abbeys suppressed in 1539, and subsequently dismantled, was that of Whitby in Yorkshire. The bells, which had been sold, were put on board a vessel destined to take them to London, but the ship refused to move further than a little distance out of the bay, and then sank into the depths at a place within sight of the abbey ruins. The bells stay where they sank, and are heard from time to time. Mr. Phillips versifies the event thus:

Up from the heart of the ocean
  The mellow music peals;
Where the sunlight makes the golden path,
  And the seamew flits and wheels.
For many a chequered century,
  Untired by flying time,
The bells no human fingers touch,
  Have rung their hidden chime.

A legend of Trefethin tells of a very wonderful bell in the church of St. Cadoc. A little child who had climbed to the belfry was struck by the bell and killed—not through the wickedness of the bell itself, but through a spell which had been put upon it by an evil spirit. But though innocent of murderous intent, the wretched bell became forfeit to the demons on account of its fatal deed. They seized it, bore it down through the earth to the shadowy realm of Annism, and ever since that day, when a child is accidentally slain at Trefethin, the bell of St. Cadoc is heard mournfully tolling underneath the ground where it disappeared ages ago.[5]

One often hears of the "passing bell," which in English pre-Reformation times were rung for the dying, those in their agony, and after death. This practice grew out of the belief that devils and evil spirits not only troubled the dying but lay in wait to torment the soul when it had left the body. One writer thinks the passing bell "was originally intended to drive away any demon that might seek to take possession of the soul of the deceased", while Grose says it "was anciently rung for two purposes, one to bespeak the prayers of all Christians for a soul just departing, the other, to drive away the evil spirits who stood at the bed's foot and about the house ready to seize their prey, or at least to molest and terrify the soul in its passage; but by the ringing of that bell they were kept aloof, and the soul, like a hunted hare, gained a start." A Huntingdonshire superstition, found in *Notes and Queries*,[6] tells of a neighbor who expressed great sorrow for a mother whose child was buried unbaptized, because "no bell had been rung over the corpse." The reason for the grief was: "because when anyone died, the soul never left the body until the church bell was rung."

After the Reformation the passing bell was discontinued. By the beginning of the eighteenth century it was never heard, though tolling the bell after a death continued as before. In 1605, Mr. R. Dowe left £50 to the parish of St. Sepulchre's on condition that some person should go in the still of the night to Newgate before every execution day "and standing as near as possible to the cells of the condemned, should with

[5] Wirt Sikes, *British Goblins.*

[6] 1st Series, v. 364.

a hand-bell (which he also left) give twelve solemn tolls, with double strokes, and then deliver this exhortation:

> All you that in the condemned hole do lie,
> Prepare you, for to-morrow you shall die;
> Watch, all, and pray, the hour is drawing near
> That you before the Almighty must appear.
>
> Examine well yourselves, in time repent,
> That you may not to eternal flames be sent;
> And when St. Sepulchre's bell to-morrow tolls,
> The Lord have mercy on your souls.
> Past twelve o'clock.

Dowe ordered that the great church bell should toll in the morning and that as the criminals passed the wall to Tyburn, the bellman or sexton should look over, and say: "All good people pray heartily unto God for these poor sinners who are now going to their death."

Mr. Thistleton Dyer thus writes of the Curfew, or *Couvre-feu*, rung in olden times as a signal for the extinguishing of all fires: "Its object, as far as can be traced, was exclusively political or social, and not religious. The most plausible conjecture as to the origin of the introduction of the practice into England is that it was to diminish the risk of conflagrations at a period when houses were principally of wood. Milton, it has been remarked, has described it in a quatrain, sonorous and musical as the bell itself,

> On a plot of rising ground,
> I hear the far-off curfew sound,
> Over some wide, watered shore,
> Swinging low with solemn roar.

It is an instance, too, of the tenacity with which we cling to a practice once established, that, though for centuries its only use has been to "toll the knell of parting day", it continues to be rung wherever there are funds to pay the ringer, for which purpose we find many curious bequests. Thus, at Barton, Lincolnshire, the tradition goes that an old lady, being accidentally benighted on the Wolds, was directed in her course by the sound of the evening bell of St. Peter's Church. When, after much alarm, she found

herself in safety, out of gratitude she gave a certain piece of land to the parish clerk on condition that he should ring one of the church bells from seven to eight every evening except Sundays, commencing on the day of the carrying of the first load of barley in every year, till Shrove Tuesday next ensuing inclusive. At Ringwould, Kent, half an acre of land, known as "Curfew Land", has always been held, says Edwards in his *Remarkable Charities*, by the parish clerk, as a remuneration for ringing the curfew bell every evening from the 2nd of November to the 2nd of February. In the parish of St. Margaret's in the same county, the story goes that, in 1696, an order was passed to ensure the proper application of the proceeds of five roods of pasture land, which had been given by a shepherd who fell over the cliff, for ringing a curfew bell at eight o'clock every night for the winter half year, which ringing had fallen greatly into neglect. Many similar bequests occur in different parts of the country, and here and there the old custom still lingers on.

A singular instance of the various use to which church bells were put is given in *Notes and Queries*, as happening at Derby on the arrival of the London coach which brought fish to the town. The news was announced by the church bells, each belfry, as the coach passed by, taking up the story thus strangely made known. Close to the entrance of the town was a church with six bells, and it was the first to announce: "Here's fresh fish come to town." All Saints, the next church, rang its peal of ten, supposed to say: "Here's fine fresh fish just come into the town." St. Michael's church had but three bells, one of which being cracked, was credited with saying: "They stinkin', they stinkin';" while a furlong off, the six of St. Alkmund's replied: "Put more salt on 'em then, put more salt on 'em then."

In many English parishes the "Shriving bell" used to be rung in the morning of Shrove Tuesday so as to remind the faithful to confess before Lent. This has now changed its name to "Pancake bell." At Daventry, Northamptonshire, the bell was muffled on one side with leather, or "buffed", and was known as the "Panburn bell". The tradition that the Northampton church bells were rung on that day is emphasized by this bell doggerel:

Roast beef and marsh mallows,
Says the bells of All Hallows.
Pancakes and fritters,
Says the bells of St. Peter's.
Roast beef and boil'd,
Says the bells of St. Giles'.
Poker and tongs,
Says the bells of St. John's.[7]
Shovel, tongs, and poker,
Says the bells of St. Pulchre's.

At Norton, near Evesham, after a muffled peal had been rung for the slaughter of the Holy Innocents, an unmuffled peal of gladness was rung for the deliverance of the Infant Christ. Instances are recorded of bells being tolled on Christmas Eve, as at a funeral, or in the manner of a passing bell, and any-one asking whose bell it was, would be told that it was the Devil's knell. The moral of it is that the devil died when Christ was born.

Bells rung on Christmas Eve or Christmas morning are often called "Virgin Chimes." The "Judas Bell" dates from old Catholic days, doubtless in connexion with Holy Week ceremonies, as are the "Judas Candles".

Thomas Nash evidently was of opinion that joy-bells at a wedding were not always suitable, and that, as a writer once said, "there have been sequels to such a beginning with which the knell had been more in unison!" So Mr. Nash in 1813 bequeathed £13 a year to the bell-ringers of the Abbey church, Bath, "on condition of their ringing on the whole peal of bells, with clappers muffled, various solemn and doleful changes on the 14th of May in every year, being the anniversary of my wedding-day, and also the anniversary of my decease, to ring a grand bob-major and merry mirthful peals unmuffled, in joyful commemoration of my happy release from domestic tyranny and wretchedness." In a Wiltshire village, when a young person died unmarried, wedding-peals with muffled bells were rung immediately after the burial. The custom of the induction of a new Protestant Vicar is kept up by his ringing the bell two or three times himself the number of

[7] St. John's Hospital.

strokes, so tradition says, regulates the number of years he will stay in the parish.

There existed in the parishes of Rutland a custom of ringing the gleaner's bell in every church at eight or nine a. m. during harvest time, which meant that women and children might go into the fields to glean. The bell was again sounded at five or six, the hours when no more gleaning was to be done. A church bell is usually rung after a Coroner's inquest. At Goddington, Oxfordshire, there exists still, I believe, a custom of ringing the church bell after a Coroner's inquest certifying to the actual death of some person in the parish.

L. E. D.

STUDIES IN AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY.

III. The Modern Schools: Kantism in America.

UP to the middle of the last century Scotch realism continued to fight for a representative place in the field of thought. It enjoyed the unstinted support of several brilliant professors, such as Thomas Cogswell Upham (1799-1867), of Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.; Francis Wayland (1796-1888),[1] president of Brown University; Lawrence Perseus Hickok (1798-1888), president of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.; J. H. Seeley (1824-1895), president of Amherst College; John Bascom (1827), president of Wisconsin University; James McCosh[2] (1811-1894), a Scotchman by birth, who became president of Princeton, reorganized the University on modern lines, and showed himself a vigorous opponent of Kantism in his numerous writings, and also a staunch defender of Christianity; Noah Porter[3] (1811-1892), president of Yale from 1871 to 1887, who had familiarized himself with Kantism in Germany in 1853 but remained faithful to

[1] His *Elements of Moral Science* published in 1835 went through several English editions, and was translated into Hawaiian, Modern Greek, Nestorian, and Armenian for the use of missionaries.

[2] *The Method of Divine Government*, 1850, 11 editions; *Intuitions of the Mind, Inductively Considered*, 1860, 5 editions; *An Examination of M. J. Stuart Mill's Philosophy*, 1860; *The Scottish Philosophy*, 1874; *The Realistic Philosophy*, 1887; besides numerous other books of lesser importance.

[3] *The Human Intellect*, 1868; *Elements of Moral Science*, 1885; *Science and Sentiment*, 1885; *Kant's Ethics*, 1886.

Scotch realism; Francis Bowen (1811-1891),[4] editor of the *North American Review* from 1843 to 1854 and afterward professor at Harvard, a sworn enemy of "the dirt philosophy of materialism and fatalism" and a strong upholder of the belief in "one personal God and one Lord Jesus Christ in whom dwells the fulness of divinity."

Others less known contributed their share in defending the older ideals of religion and morality, but theirs was a losing struggle. And it is to be regretted that they gave up the fight, for their withdrawal from the field has given free scope to the wild speculations whose pernicious excesses are becoming more and more evident and are now so widely deplored in our institutions of higher learning.

But the day belonged to the all-conquering Kantism,—and the term is here taken in its widest meaning, to include also all post-Kantian systems.

Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* was published in 1781. At this late day, when here as in Europe Kantism holds full sway in the field of speculation outside the Catholic Church, it is interesting to trace its first appearance across the Atlantic at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

According to Prof. Creighton the very first reference to Kant in this country is found in the American reimpression of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* of 1797-99. The author of the article, however, the Rev. Dr. George Gleig, was not an American, but a Scotch clergyman. In 1801 we find Dr. Dwight, president of Yale College, as the first native American to make a brief and condemnatory reference to Kant in his *Century Discourse*: "The present state of literature and morals in Germany conspires to show that the principles of the Illuminés respecting morality and religion have an extensive prevalence in that country. From the philosophy of Kant to the plays of Kotzebue their publications appear to be formed to diffuse loose principles".[5]

[4] *Treatise on Logic*, 1864; *Modern Philosophy from Descartes to Schopenhauer and Hartmann*. For a more complete account of their works see: Van Becelaere, *La Philosophie en Amérique*, pp. 62 ff.

[5] Dwight, *Century Discourse*, 1801, p. 50. Cf. Riley, *American Philosophy*, p. 315, note.

At about the same time Samuel Miller (1769-1850) gives a fuller account of the Kantian philosophy. He had never read or even seen the works of the Königsberg philosopher, but an echo had come to him of the fame he enjoyed in Europe. Finding a summary of his doctrines in Adelung's *Elements of Critical Philosophy*, which had been translated into English and published in London, he proceeds to give us his own views on this new system:

When inquiry is made among the followers of this singular man respecting the general drift of his system, they answer chiefly in negations. It is *not* atheism, for he affirms that practical reason is entitled to infer the existence of a Supreme Intelligence. It is *not* theism, for he denies that theoretical reason can demonstrate the existence of an infinite, intelligent Being. It is *not* materialism, for he maintains that time and space are only forms of our perception, and not the attributes of extrinsic existences. It is *not* idealism, for he maintains that noumena are independent of phenomena, that things perceptible are prior to perception. It is *not* libertinism, for he allows the will to be determined by regular laws. It is *not* fatalism, for he defines this to be a system in which the connection of purposes in the world is considered as accidental. It is *not* dogmatism, for he favors every possible doubt. It is *not* scepticism, for he affects to demonstrate what he teaches. Such are the indefinite evasions of this school.

The complaint that all this is obscure and scarcely intelligible will probably be made by every reader. An English philosopher tells us that it would require more than ordinary industry and ingenuity to make a just translation, or a satisfactory abstract of the system in question, in our language; that for this purpose a new nomenclature, more difficult than the Linnæan botany, must be invented. This circumstance itself affords strong presumption against the rationality and truth of the Kantian philosophy. Locke and Newton found little difficulty in making themselves understood. Every man of plain good sense who is used to inquiries of that nature, readily comprehends their systems, in as little time as it requires to peruse their volumes. Even Berkeley and Hume, with all their delusive subtleties, found means to render themselves easily intelligible. Is there not reason then to suspect either that the system of Kant is made up of heterogeneous, inconsistent and incomprehensible materials; or that, in order to disguise the old and well-known philosophy of certain English and French writers, and to impose it on the world as a new system, he has done little more

than present it under a new technical vocabulary of his own? Or, which is perhaps not the most improbable supposition, that, being sensible of the tendency of his philosophy to undermine all religion and morals, as hitherto taught and prized in the world, he has studied to envelope in an enigmatic language a system which he wishes to be understood by the initiated alone; a system which has been pronounced 'an attempt to teach the sceptical philosophy of Hume in the disgusting dialect of scholasticism'? At any rate, notwithstanding all the unwearied pains which some of the disciples of this famous Prussian have taken, to rescue him from the imputation of being one of the sceptical philosophers of the age, the most impartial judges will probably assign him a place among those metaphysical empirics of modern times whose theoretical jargon, instead of being calculated to advance science, or to forward human improvement, has rather a tendency to delude, to bewilder, and to shed a baneful influence on the true interests of man.[6]

In strong contrast with this inimical attitude of the thorough-going Scotch realist, who aimed above all at "a safe and sound philosophy", was the position of the first thoroughly sympathetic exponents of Kantism, the New England Transcendentalists. Unrestrained inquiry had been anathematized in the early American schools; foreign importations that betrayed a dangerous tendency, had been fought tooth and nail, as the materialistic school had found to its detriment. Every thinker was to be "orthodox"; he was imprisoned in custom, and bound to follow the lead of the church of which he was a member. Never in the history of thought was there a more complete parody of that highly extolled principle of "free inquiry". But the thoroughly Protestant mind had long since been straining at these artificial barriers, was battering them down very fast, and preparing the way for Kantism, the philosophy peculiarly adapted to the Protestant state of mind.

For the very spirit of Kantian criticism was a spirit of free inquiry; it took nothing for granted, but imperiously claimed the right to probe into the very fundamentals of the human mind. Its adherents could not but make a clean sweep of all other systems.

[6] Miller, *Retrospect of the 18th Century*, pp. 26-27, vol. 2; Riley, op. cit., pp. 512-514.

As developed at first in New England, it had a meteoric career. Looked upon as a thoroughly original American edition of Kantism, it was not a coldly intellectual system, but underlying it was a decidedly mystical tendency, and its adherents manifested the fervor of religious zealots. As such it was short-lived, but through it Kantism obtained a foothold in the land; nay, it appeared shortly that it had completely overmastered the thinking minds of the country from that to this present day. And it shows no signs of losing ground.

The first impulse toward a better understanding of Kant was given by young American scholars who went to complete their studies at German Universities, and came back as ardent champions of the new doctrines then already favorably known and taught at those seats of higher learning. The pioneers in this movement were Edward Everett (1794-1865) and George Ticknor (1791-1871), both of whom went in 1815 to spend two years at the University of Göttingen, and both of whom were afterward to follow brilliant careers as professors and writers. George Bancroft, the future historian, followed their example in 1818. This temporary "emigration to Germany" has since grown to ever greater proportions; as a consequence, American philosophy during the nineteenth century has gone through all the metamorphoses of German idealism, and Kantism has continued to reign supreme, either as a critical philosophy standing on its own merits, or in combination with the evolutionary philosophy of Herbert Spencer.

Transcendentalism,[7] the name under which Kantism invaded this country, did not find the way unprepared: other systems had lost their vigor, and positive religious beliefs had decayed. As the first philosophical systems in this country had sprung from speculations on the accepted religious truths and had been nourished by them, so did Transcendentalism originate in the negation of these same truths. What Calvinism

[7] It was the name which Kant himself had given to his system: "Ich nenne alle Erkenntniss transcendental, die sich nicht sowohl mit Gegenständen, sondern mit unserer Erkentnissart von Gegenständen, sofern diese a priori möglich sein soll, überhaupt beschäftigt. Ein System solcher Begriffe würde *Transcendental-Philosophie* heissen". *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, Edit. J. H. von Kirchmann, 7th. edit., Heidelberg, George Weiss, p. 65. "I term all cognition transcendental which concerns itself not so much with objects as with our mode of cognition of objects so far as this may be possible a priori. A system of such conceptions would be called Transcendental Philosophy."

had been to Mather and Edwards, Unitarianism became to Channing, Emerson, and their followers.[8]

In the terminology of Kant "transcendent" was employed to designate qualities that lie outside of all "experience", that cannot be reached either by observation or reflection or explained as the consequences of any discoverable antecedents. The term "transcendental" designated the fundamental conceptions, the universal and necessary judgments which transcend the sphere of experience, and at the same time are the conditions that make experience and scientific knowledge possible.

It was about 1820, according to Emerson, that the new ideas from which Transcendentalism developed, began to take root in New England. It was only in 1836 however that its followers had grown strong enough to band together, and on 19 September of that year was founded in Boston the Transcendental Club, at the house of William Ellery Channing (1780-1842). Channing himself, a Unitarian minister of very liberal views and a fearless defender of the rights of the individual conscience,[9] was the leader of the Club, and to him Emerson partly owed his education in the new doctrines. Besides Channing and Emerson, the other most influential members were Theodore Parker (1810-1860), a radical Unitarian minister; George Ripley (1802-1880); William Henry Channing (1810-1884); Henry D. Thoreau (1817-1862); Margaret Fuller (1810-1850); Bronson Alcott (1799-1888); Frederic H. Hedge (1805-1890), also a Unitarian minister; George Bancroft (1800-1891), the historian; James Freeman Clarke (1810-1892), another Unitarian minister. Closely allied with them until his conversion to the Church in 1844, and even called "the coryphæus of the sect", was Orestes Augustus Brownson (1803-1876), whose *Boston Quarterly Review* was one of the greatest assets of the movement.[10] "We called ourselves the club of the like-minded,"

[8] See: O. B. Frothingham, *Boston Unitarianism*, G. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1890; also: *A History of the Unitarians in the U. S.*; Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1903, pp. 170-220.

[9] "We must start in religion from our own souls. In there is the foundation of all divine truth." Barrett Wendell, *Literary History of America*, Scribner's Sons, New York, 3d edit., 1901, p. 284.

[10] Cf. Van Becelaere, op. cit., p. 85. In his sympathetic but keenly critical

declares James Freeman Clarke, "probably because not two of us professed the same doctrines."

For years this little coterie of enthusiasts succeeded in forcing itself into the limelight; their eccentricities of living, together with their large literary output, focussed attention on them. Amongst them were found men of vigorous mind, schooled in using the written and spoken word to good advantage, and so original in their conceptions as often to provoke sneers or pitiful smiles from the uninitiated. But all this they heeded not, but went their own way serenely confiding in the infallible intuitions of their own minds. Now their literary achievements are hardly remembered, and even the star of Ralph Waldo Emerson, once extolled as the very embodiment of American genius, is undergoing a decided eclipse. The factitious praise which the last generation heaped upon him and his apocalyptic outpourings, is coming to be looked upon as a mere "fad", the fact of a weak or blasé mind professing to admire what it cannot grasp because it is unintelligible and without logical sequence or cohesion. Emerson's "lack of artistic finish of rhythm and rhyme" was noted even during his lifetime by one of his ardent admirers.[11] A writer with a brilliant style that expresses no thoughts is scarcely destined to endure.

But whilst the transcendentalist movement lasted, Emerson was its towering figure. He contends for no doctrines, whether God or the hereafter or the moral law. He neither dogmatizes nor defines. On the contrary his chief anxiety seems to be to avoid committing himself to positive assertions. He gives no definition of God that will class him as an atheist, a theist or a pantheist; no definition of immortality that justifies his readers in imputing to him any form of the popular beliefs in regard to it. Does he believe in personal immortality? It is impertinent to ask: he will not be questioned; he will be held to no definitions; he will be reduced to no final statements. "Of immortality the soul, when well employed,

volume *Transcendentalism in New England*, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1876, O. B. Frothingham calls Emerson "the seer" of the movement; Alcott "the mystic"; Margaret Fuller "the critic"; Theodore Parker "the preacher"; and George Ripley "the Man of Letters".

[11] O. B. Frothingham, op. cit., p. 238.

is incurious;[12] it is so well it is sure it will be well; it asks no question of the supreme power . . . Immortality will come to such as are fit for it and he who would be a great soul in future must be a great soul now. It is a doctrine too great to rest on any legend, that is on any man's experience but our own. It must be proved, if at all, from our own activity and designs which imply an interminable future for their play."[13]

It is evident that for the "scientific method" Emerson professes no deep respect, and for the "scientific assumptions" none whatever. He begins at the opposite end: scientists start with matter, he starts with mind: "science," he says, "was false by being unpoetical."[14]

If we seek for any fundamental principles in his elusive pages, we might say that the first article of his creed is the primacy of mind: mind is supreme, eternal, absolute, one, manifold, subtle, living, immanent in all things, permanent, flowing, self-manifesting. The universe is the result of mind; finite minds live and act through concurrence with infinite mind: "There is one mind common to all individual men. Every man is an inlet to the same and to all of the same."[15] "The currents of the Universal Being circulate through me. I am part and parcel of God."[16]

And the second article of his creed is only a restatement of the first: the individual intellect is so connected with the primal mind that it draws thence wisdom, will, prudence,

[12] This supreme indifference toward all time-honored Christian dogmas Emerson manifested for the first time in that historical sermon in which he resigned his pastorate of the Second Unitarian Church in Boston, 9 Sept., 1832, because he could no longer admit the distribution of the elements of the Lord's Supper to the people as an ordinance instituted by Christ and intended by Him to be perpetuated through the ages: "That is the end of my opposition that I am not interested in it. I am content that it stand to the end of the world, if it please men and please heaven, and I shall rejoice in all the good it produces". O. B. Frothingham, op. cit., p. 380.

[13] R. W. Emerson, *Complete Works*, Houghton Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York, 1904; Conduct of Life: Worship, pp. 238-239. This edition is always referred to in subsequent quotations.

[14] "The best read savant becomes unpoetic. But the best read naturalist who lends an entire and devout attention to truth . . . will perceive that there are far more excellent qualities in the student than preciseness and infallibility; that a guess is often more fruitful than an indisputable affirmation, and that a dream may let us deeper into the secret of nature than a hundred concerted experiments." *Com. Works*, Nature: Prospects, p. 66.

[15] *Com. Works*, Essays, First Series: History, p. 3.

[16] *Com. Works*, Nature, p. 10.

virtue, heroism, all active and passive qualities: "The relations of the soul to the divine spirit are so pure that it is profane to seek to interpose helps . . . Ineffable is the union of man and God in every act of the soul; the simplest person who in his integrity worships God, becomes God."

Emerson was never concerned to defend himself against the charge of pantheism, or the warning to beware lest he unsettle the foundations of morality, annihilate the freedom of the will, abolish the distinction between right and wrong, and reduce personality to a mask. He makes no apology; he never explains; he trusts to affirmation pure and simple.[17]

And as the master thought and spoke, so did the lesser representatives of the movement teach and speak in their own way.

The transcendentalist philosophy of man was of the simplest kind: it went back to the earliest Greek philosophers, when Christianity did not exist, and to the Eastern thinkers of India and China who had never caught a glimpse of the Christian revelation, and whom Emerson quotes with great satisfaction. It claimed for all men what Christianity claimed for its followers, and only in an analogical way: the words of St. Paul that "in God we live and move and have our being", were seized upon and reiterated in a thousand different ways, especially in the pages of *The Dial*:[18] "Man is a rudiment and embryo of God . . . the perception now fast becoming a conscious fact, that there is one mind, and that also all the powers and privileges which lie in one lie in all . . . there is an infinity in the human soul which few have yet believed and after which few have aspired; there is a lofty power of moral principle in the depths of our nature which is nearly allied to omnipotence."

It was not by accident therefore that the transcendental philosophy addressed itself to the question of religion: it did so from the very nature of the case and could not avoid the issue. Kant had felt the necessity of reopening the problem of God; Fichte followed; Schelling and Hegel moved on the

[17] O. B. Frothingham, op. cit., pp. 241-242.

[18] This "Quarterly Magazine for Literature, Philosophy and Religion", under the editorship of Margaret Fuller and R. W. Emerson, appeared from 1840 to 1844, and is in itself a complete history of the movement for those years.

same plane. They all insisted on the spiritual nature of man in virtue of which he had an intuitive knowledge of God as a being infinite and absolute in power, wisdom, and goodness. And as for the immortality of the soul, holding it to be undemonstrable by the senses, it was made a postulate, a first principle.

The transcendentalists rendered justice to all religions,[19] studied them, admired them, confessed their inspiration. Of these faiths Christianity was cheerfully acknowledged to be the queen. The supremacy of Jesus was granted with enthusiasm; his teachings accepted as the purest expression of religious truth, His miracles regarded as the natural achievements of a soul endowed with originality and force.

Thus Theodore Parker believed in the miracles of the New Testament and many others besides, more than the Christians were willing to accept: "It may be said that these religious teachers (Zoroaster, Buddha, etc.) pretended to work miracles. I would not deny that they did work miracles. If a man is obedient to the law of his mind, conscience and heart; since his intellect, character and affections are in harmony with the laws of God, I take it he can do works which are impossible to others who have not been so faithful and are not 'one with God' as he is."

Transcendentalism denies the reality of supernatural powers and influences simply by regarding man himself as a supernatural being; and Christianity, though dethroned and disenchanted, is dignified as a supreme moment in the autobiography of God. The transcendentalist found in sacred literature thoughts which he himself put there. Parker, discoursing on inspiration, cites Paul and John as holding the same doctrine with himself; "though," as a keen historian

[19] Margaret Fuller was perhaps the only notable exception. In 1832, writing to a friend on the subject of religious faith, she expresses herself thus: "I have not formed an opinion; I have determined not to form settled opinions at present. Loving or feeble natures need a positive religion—a visible refuge, a protection—as much in the passionate season of youth as in those stages nearer to the grave. But mine is not such. My pride is superior to any feelings I have yet experienced . . . When disappointed I do not ask nor wish consolation. I wish to know and feel my pain, to investigate its nature and its source; I will not not have my thoughts diverted or my feelings soothed. . . . I believe in eternal progression; I believe in a God, a beauty and perfection to which I am to strive all my life for assimilation." O. B. Frothingham, op. cit., pp. 286-287.

of the movement candidly observes, "it is plain to the simplest mind that their doctrine was in no respect the same but so different as to be in contradiction."

Paul and John, it is hardly too much to say, set up their doctrine in precise opposition to the doctrine of transcendentalists. Paul declared that the natural man could *not* discern divine things, that they were foolishness to him; that they must be spiritually discerned; that the Christian was able to discern them spiritually *because he had* "the mind of Christ". The eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans contains sentences that taken singly, apart from their connection, comfort the cockles of the transcendental heart; but the writer is glorifying Christ the inspirer, not the soul of the inspired. He opens the chapter with the affirmation that "there is no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh but after the spirit"; and follows it with the saying that "if any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his". This is the spirit that "quickens mortal bodies"; that makes believers to be "Sons of God", giving them "the spirit of adoption whereby they cry Abba, Father"; bearing witness with their spirit that they are "the children of God". This is the spirit "that helpeth our infirmities", and "maketh intercession with groanings that cannot be uttered". Transcendentalism deliberately broke with Christianity. Paul said: "other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ". Transcendentalism responded: "Jesus Christ built on my foundation, the soul", and for thus answering was classed with those who use as building materials "wood, hay, stubble", which the fire would consume. In the view of Transcendentalism, Christianity was an illustrious form of natural religion; Jesus was a noble type of human nature; revelation was disclosure of the soul's mystery; inspiration was the filling of the soul's lungs; salvation was spiritual vitality.[20]

What made Transcendentalism especially remarkable in New England was that, whilst in Germany and France it was held by cultivated men and taught in the schools; whilst in England it influenced poetry and art, but all over left the daily existence of men and women untouched, here it blossomed forth in every form of social life. Experiments in thought and life of even audacious description were made,

[20] O. B. Frothingham, op. cit., pp. 203-204.

not in defiance of precedent—for precedent was hardly respected enough to be defied—but in innocent unconsciousness of precedent. A feeling was abroad that all things must be new in the New World. There was a call for immediate application of ideas to life. There were no immovable prejudices, no fixed and unalterable traditions. The sentiment of individual freedom was active; and the transcendentalist was by nature a reformer. He could not be satisfied with men as they were, and his perfervid appeals remind one of the mystics of the Middle Ages. Emerson, in his lecture on "Man the Reformer," does not dissemble his hope that each person whom he addresses "has felt his own call to cast aside all evil customs, timidities and limitations, and to be in his place a free and helpful man, a reformer, a benefactor, not content to slip through the world like a footman or a spy, escaping by his nimbleness and apologies as many knocks as he can, but a brave and upright man who must find or cut a straight path to everything excellent in this earth; and not only go honorably himself but make it easier for all who follow him to go in honor and with benefit." [21]

Brook Farm therefore was projected on the purest transcendentalist basis.[22] It was felt that in order to live a religious and moral life in sincerity, it was necessary to leave the world of institutions and to reconstruct the social order from new beginnings. But what the members needed most to make their experiment a success, they lacked completely—religious abnegation. Instead they built on the supreme dignity of the individual man, a principle that expressed all too clearly the hallucinations under which these intellectuals labored.

For visionaries the transcendentalists were, even to their contemporaries. Lord Macaulay puts the case thus in his article on Bacon: "To sum up the whole, we should say that the aim of Platonic philosophy was to exalt man into God. The aim of the Baconian philosophy was to provide man with what he requires while he continues to be man. The aim of Platonic philosophy was to raise us far above our wants; the aim of Baconian philosophy was to supply our wants. The former aim was noble, but the latter was attainable. The

[21] *Complete Works*, Nature, Man the Reformer, p. 228.

[22] See the Constitutions in O. B. Frothingham, op. cit., pp. 159-164.

philosophy of Plato began in words and ended in words, noble words indeed, words such as were to be expected from the finest of human intellects exercising boundless control over the finest of human languages. The philosophy of Bacon began in observations and ended in arts. The truth is that in those very matters for the sake of which they neglected all the vulgar interests of mankind, the ancient philosophers did nothing or worse than nothing; they promised what was impracticable, they despised what was practicable." Substitute "idealism" for "Platonism," and "Transcendentalism" for "ancient philosophers", and this expresses the judgment of sensible men of the last generation on transcendentalists.

And it expresses the judgment of posterity equally well. Transcendentalism was but a transient phase in the development of Kantian philosophy in the country. It opened the way for a wider diffusion of idealism as it came to be studied and understood in all its aspects.

The transcendentalists gave up their eccentricities of conduct and settled down to merely intellectual occupations that gave a much broader scope to their work and drew new followers to their doctrines.

In 1878 Emerson, together with Prof. Peirce of Harvard, William Torrey Harris of St. Louis, Bronson Alcott, and F. B. Sanborn, organized the Concord School of Philosophy. Emerson remained at the head of it until his death in 1882. The aim of the school was to hold conferences on philosophical subjects. These meetings attracted many thinkers who were later on to make their influence felt in the field of speculation. Emerson attended the opening of the school on 12 July, 1879, and in the month of August he gave his first lecture before the school, speaking on "Memory." He lectured there once more on 2 August, 1880, on "Aristocracy." This was the extent of his work for the institution, which however gave him much pleasure in his declining years, as he saw in it an earnest of the perpetuation of his doctrines. Plato and Aristotle were discussed, but Kantism in its various aspects was the theme underlying the majority of lectures.[23]

[23] Van Becelaere, op. cit., p. 99.

One of the most active members of the school was William Torrey Harris (1835-1909)[24] than whom few have done more to spread Hegelianism in this country. In 1866 he founded the Kant Club of St. Louis, and he was superintendent of that city's schools from 1868 to 1880, when he was appointed U. S. Commissioner of Education. In 1867 he started his *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, which was published regularly until 1888, and intermittently from that year until 1893, when lack of support compelled it to cease publication. Harris loved philosophical speculation for its own sake as an intellectual discipline. His restless mind was ever in search of the ultimate reasons of things; he possessed the happy faculty of infusing his own enthusiasm into others, drew many younger minds toward his favorite studies and generously opened the pages of his *Journal* to the results of their investigations.

Harris was broad-minded, and, when occasion offered, was not slow to pay a sincere tribute to the Church and her great teachers. "The great scholastic Fathers, commencing with Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas, learned this insight of Aristotle and were able to defend Christianity against the Moslem pantheism which denied immortality to man. . . . The great era of scholasticism, an era of profoundest thought and clearest insight. . . . Christian thought had been almost completed; very little has been added or is likely to be added to the ontological system of St. Thomas Aquinas."[25]

Harris was one of the first American exponents of Hegel's spiritual monism, and as such deserves further notice. He has himself told us how he came to champion Hegel's conception of the universe. "As early as 1858 I obtained my first insight into Hegel's philosophy in studying Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*. I saw that time and space presuppose reason as their logical condition, and that they are themselves the logical condition of what is in the world,—not essentially but only in the expression or manifestation of his will, which expression he may altogether withhold. I saw also the necessity of the logical inference that the unity of time and space

[24] *Introduction to Philosophy*, extracts from his writings, published by Marietta Kies, 1889; *Exposition of Hegel's Logic*, 1895; *Psychological Foundation of Education*, 1898, besides numerous articles on philosophical subjects.

[25] *Hegel's Logic*, by W. T. Harris, Chicago, S. C. Griggs & Co., 1895, pp. 34-36.

presupposes one absolute Reason. God, freedom, immortality, seemed to me to be demonstrable ever since the December evening in 1858 when I obtained my insight into the true inference from Kant's Transcendental Æsthetic . . . In 1863 I arrived at the insight which Hegel has expressed in his *Für-sich-seyn*, or Being-for-itself, which I called and still call independent being . . . I discovered afterward that it is the most important insight of Plato, and that Aristotle uses it as the foundation of his philosophy. It has in one form or another furnished the light for all philosophy worthy of the name since Plato first saw it. St. Thomas Aquinas presents it in the beginning of his *Summa Theologica*.[26] Leibniz states it as the basis of his Monadology . . . In 1873 I discovered the substantial identity of all East Indian doctrines. I undertook a thorough study of the Bagavad Gita in 1872, and for the first time saw that the differences of systems were superficial, and that the First Principle presupposed and even explicitly stated by the Sanscrit writers was everywhere the same, and that this is the Principle of Pure Being. It was in 1879 that I came to my final and present standpoint in regard to the true outcome of the Hegelian system, but it was six years later that I began to see that Hegel himself has not deduced theological consequences of his system in the matter of the relation of nature to the absolute idea." [27] It is a fact worthy of notice that, following in the wake of Hegel and Emerson, Kantian idealists have almost uniformly "gone beyond" the Christian conception of God; and in search of authorities to uphold and confirm their teachings, have returned to Oriental speculation. Hence their vague notions of the Absolute Being; or, as Harris himself puts it: "The Absolute is not an empty absolute, an indeterminate being, but it is determined. It is not determined through another, but through itself. If there is no independent being, there is no dependent being. If there is not self-determined being, there is no being whatsoever." [28]

[26] It ought to be borne in mind here that Harris has failed to grasp the teaching of Aristotle and especially of St. Thomas on this point. The *aseitas* ascribed to God by the latter is not the *Für-sich-seyn* of Hegel. The distinction is made apparent from the very beginning of the *Summa*. Cf. S. Theol., Ia, Q. II, a. 3, and Q. III, a. 7-8.

[27] *Hegel's Logic*, pp. viii-xiv.

[28] Ibid., p. x.

But the nature and attributes of this being remain forever shrouded in mystery and it is in vain that we look for a clean-cut, sharply delimited conception of God such as the scholastic Middle Ages have left us.

And the same must be said of Harris's doctrine of immortality. "Let us note that science on teaching the doctrine of evolution and that of the struggle for existence, favors the doctrine that intelligence and will are the surviving and permanent substance. For intelligence and will triumph in the struggle for existence and prove themselves the goal to which the creation moves. An individuality that does not exist for itself has no personal identity and hence is indifferent to immortality. When the self-activity in reproducing the impression perceives at the same time its own freedom as energy, then it becomes conscious of itself. This takes place in the recognition of objects as belonging to classes or species. Here begins the immortality of the individual. Not before this, because the individual is and can be only a self-activity, and cannot know himself except as generic. With the recognition of species and genera there is the recognition of self as persistent." [29]

It is true that, as medieval philosophy had already recognized, the formation of abstract and universal concepts such as those of species and genera, is an argument in favor of the "simplicity" of the soul or its immateriality; but Hegelian monism has yet to prove that this immaterial soul continues to endure as a self-subsistent being. Such was the philosophic creed of the man who has been called "the profoundest student of Hegel in this country." Around him and his *Journal* several other names group themselves because, with some shadings of thought, all defend the same fundamental doctrines.

Strange to say, when the centenary of the publication of the *Critique of Pure Reason* was celebrated in Saratoga, N. Y., in 1881, it was publicly acknowledged that not a few amongst the professors of philosophy in America had a very superficial acquaintance with Kant, and Prof. Bowen of Harvard wrote "that it was doubtful whether there were in the United States

[29] *Introduction to Philosophy*, pp. 280-283.

an even dozen who could understand Kant in the original." This defect, however, Prof. George S. Morris (1840-1889), of Michigan University, tried to remedy. He himself had studied at Halle and Berlin. He translated Ueberweg's standard *History of Philosophy*. He was in full sympathy with German thought, and in an effort to make it better known in this country and bring it within the reach even of those not familiar with the German language, he started the publication of Griggs's *Philosophical Classics*, "devoted to a critical exposition of the masterpieces of German thought." [30] They were not translations, but critical accounts, simple, brief and to the point, giving the key to a better understanding of the original. He himself wrote the volume on *Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*. John Watson, of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, wrote *Schelling's Transcendental Idealism*; *Fichte's Transcendental Idealism* was treated by Charles C. Everett, of Harvard; *Hegel's Æsthetics* by J. S. Kedney, of Seabury Divinity School, Faribault, Minn.; *Hegel's Philosophy of the State and of History* by George S. Morris; *Hegel's Logic* by W. T. Harris; *Kant's Ethics* by Noah Porter of Yale. Together with several other volumes this series gave in an English dress a fairly complete conspectus of German philosophy; and taken in connexion with the works of the English exponents of German thought, prominent amongst whom were Edward Caird and Thomas H. Green, they contributed much toward popularizing Kantian and post-Kantian idealism.

The latter especially seems to have fascinated a host of American philosophers besides Harris, and they have exploited Hegel's doctrines in all their bearings. Amongst them must be mentioned: Charles C. Everett (1829-1900),[31] Bussey, professor of theology at Harvard and as thorough-going a monist as Hegel ever was; and John Watson (1847),[32] who in common with almost every member of the idealistic school in America

[30] Published by S. S. Griggs & Co., Chicago.

[31] *The Science of Thought*, 1869 and 1890; *Fichte's Transcendental Idealism*, 1884.

[32] *Kant and His English Critics*, 1881; *Schelling's Transcendental Idealism*, 1882; *The Philosophy of Kant*, Extracts from his own Writings, 1888; *Comte, Mill, and Spencer*, 1895; *Christianity and Idealism*, 1896; *An Outline of Philosophy*, 1898; *The Philosophical Basis of Religion*, 1907; *The Philosophy of Kant Explained*, 1908.

strives to bring about a conciliation between "Christianity rightly understood" and idealism—his Christianity, it need hardly be remarked is but a shadowy ghost of what is generally understood by it. William Caldwell (1863)[33] a sympathetic exponent of Schopenhauer. James McBride Sterrett (1847)[34] of George Washington University; James Seth (1860)[35] formerly of Brown and Cornell Universities, now professor in Edinburgh University and co-editor of *The Philosophical Review.* George Stuart Fullerton (1859) of Columbia.[36] If we are to judge from his latest work, this author shows signs of returning to the realist camp: "It is this truth which is recognized by the plain man, when he maintains that in the last resort we can know things only in so far as we see, touch, hear, taste, and smell them; and by the psychologist when he tells us that, in sensation the external world is revealed as directly as it is possible that it could be revealed. But it is a travesty on this truth to say that we do not know things but know only our sensations of sight, touch, taste, hearing, and the like."[37] Frank Thilly (1865)[38] of Cornell University. James Hyslop (1854)[39] of Columbia. James E. Creighton (1861) of Cornell University, editor of

[33] Schopenhauer's *System in its Philosophical Significance,* 1896.

[34] *Studies in Hegel's Philosophy of Religion,* 1890; *Reason and Authority in Religion,* 1891; *The Ethics of Hegel,* 1893; *The Freedom of Authority,* 1905.

[35] *A Study of Ethical Principles,* which had gone through ten editions in 1908.

[36] *The Conception of the Infinite,* 1887; *A Plain Argument for God,* 1889; *On Sameness and Identity,* 1890; *The Philosophy of Spinoza,* 1894; *On Spinozistic Immortality,* 1899; *A System of Philosophy,* 1904.

[37] *An Introduction to Philosophy,* p. 58. In connexion with this, the following sensible remark of his should not go unheeded: after pointing out the contradictions in Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason,* and particularly in his exposition of Antinomies I and II, he writes: "When the student meets such a tangle in the writings of any philosopher, I ask him to believe that it is not the human reason that is at fault, at least let him not assume that it is. The fault probably lies with a human reason." Ibid., p. 308.

[38] *Introduction to Ethics,* 1900; he also translated: Paulsen's *Introduction to Philosophy,* 1895; Weber's *History of Philosophy,* 1896; Paulsen's *System of Ethics,* 1899.

[39] *Elements of Logic,* 1892; *Ethics of Hume,* 1893; *Logic and Argument,* 1899; *Syllabus of Psychology,* 1899; *The Problem of Philosophy,* 1905; *Science and a Future Life,* 1905; *Enigmas of Psychical Research,* 1906; *Borderland of Psychical Research,* 1906.

The Philosophical Review.[40] Paul Carus (1852),[41] a convinced monist, expounder of Oriental, especially Chinese thought, and who aims, without any animosity to any of the established creeds of the world, to stand for conservative progress based upon the most radical thought and fearless investigation; and holds that it is highly desirable to raise the intellectual level of the established churches to a higher plane by letting the matured results of science enter into the fabric of our religious convictions. George Trumbull Ladd (1842),[42] Professor at Yale, although guarded in his statements, admits that "the assumption of the immanence of Absolute Mind in that world of Nature to which both the human body and the human soul belong, is the only postulate which will make valid the whole realm of psycho-physical science . . . Out of this Universal Being, without seeming to be wholly accounted for by it, does every stream of consciousness arise. In the midst of the Universal Being—without getting all its laws of development from it, but on the contrary showing plain signs of a certain unique, self-determined development — does every stream of consciousness run its course. Into 'It' at the end, and so far as human observation can follow, every stream of consciousness merges itself. . . . The Immortality of mind cannot be proved from its nature regarded as that of a real, self-identical, and unitary being; nor is its permanence, as known to itself, of an order to allow the sure inference of its continued and permanent existence after death."[43] Hugo Münsterberg (1863),[44] professor at Harvard, for whom the monistic Absolute is not Mind but Will.

[40] In collaboration with E. B. Titchener he translated Wilhelm Wundt's *Human and Animal Psychology*, 1894; and in collaboration with A. Lefevre, Paulsen's *Kant, His Life and Philosophy*, 1902.

[41] His works, amongst which the subject of religion occupies a very large place, are too numerous to be quoted here. A complete list of them may be found in *The Work of the Open Court Publishing Co.*, of Chicago, of which publishing house he is the Director. See pp. 26-75.

[42] *Elements of Physiological Psychology*, 1890; *Psychology Descriptive and Explanatory*, 1894; *The Philosophy of Mind*, 1895; *Philosophy of Knowledge*, 1897; *Theory of Reality*, 1899; *Philosophy of Conduct*, 1902.

[43] *Philosophy of Mind*, pp. 319, 365, 398.

[44] *Psychology and Life*, 1899; *Grundzüge der Psychologie*, 1900; *The Eternal Life*, 1905; *Science and Idealism*, 1906; *The Eternal Values*, 1909. For further details about Münsterberg's philosophy see ECCL. REVIEW, January, 1909: "The Newest Philosophy."

But perhaps the most remarkable and one of the most widely read and most influential of them all at the present time is is Josiah Royce (1855).[45] No doubt this is greatly due to the fact that, although dealing with the most abstract problems, he possesses the happy faculty of bringing his philosophy within the reach of the masses. The use of anecdote and story, an easy fluent style, a broad toleration of others' views that makes him quote with relish Thomas à Kempis on the vanity of philosophy; a reluctance on his part to impose his own but to leave reader or hearer the widest liberty of choice,—all contribute to make him a unique personality that can draw around itself a host of admirers if it cannot make followers. Prof. Royce would gladly class himself with those whose doctrinal system is "an eternal interrogation"; he is a personality in short such as modern philosophy delights to point out as amongst its greatest representatives.

The philosophical tenets developed in his various works are those of post-Kantian idealism and particularly of Hegel, from whom he scarcely deviates, even if, according to his own confession, he states "Hegel's thoughts in an utterly non-Hegelian vocabulary."[46] It would be a sickening surfeit to repeat here a statement of those doctrines. But they lead into a wider field, that of religion, which Prof. Royce ever and anon invades with dogged insistence, together with all followers of idealism, as a glance at their published works, listed here for that very purpose, will sufficiently show. All through his career this particular subject seems to have occupied a prominent place in his thoughts. His first volume took it up *ex professo,* and only recently he made an attempt to show "What is Vital in Christianity."[47] His ideas may be taken as representative of the general attitude of his school toward this engrossing subject.

He warns us at the outset about his position: "The writer . . . has no visible connexion with any religious body, and no sort of desire for any such connexion, and he cannot be ex-

[45] *The Religious Aspect of Philosophy,* 1885; *The Spirit of Modern Philosophy,* 1892; *Studies of Good and Evil,* 1898; *The Conception of God,* 1895; *The Conception of Immortality,* 1899; *The World and the Individual,* 1900-1901.

[46] The Spirit of Modern Philosophy, Preface, p. xii.

[47] *The Harvard Theological Review,* Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 480 ff.

pected to write an apology for a popular creed. This confession is made frankly, but not for the sake of provoking a quarrel, and with all due reverence for the faith of other men. If the fox who had lost his tail was foolish to be proud of his loss, he would have been yet more foolish to hide it by wearing a false tail, stolen mayhap from a dead fox. The full application of the moral of the fable to the present case is moreover willingly accepted. Not as the fox invited his friends to imitate his loss, would the present writer aim to make other men loose their faiths. Rather is it his aim not to arouse fruitless quarrels, but to come to some peaceful understanding with his fellows touching the ultimate meaning and value and foundation of this noteworthy custom, so widely prevalent among us, the custom of having a religion." [48]

Yet he ends by stating for his own part a religious doctrine. Why? In so far as philosophy suggests general rules for conduct or discusses the theories about the world, philosophy must have a religous aspect. Kant's fundamental problems: What do I know, and what ought I to do? are of religious interest no less than of philosophic interest. There is no defence for one as sincere thinker, if, undertaking to pay attention to philosophy as such, he wilfully or thoughtlessly neglects such problems on the ground that he has no time for them. Surely he has time to be not merely a student of philosophy but also a man, and these things are amongst the essentials of humanity.

By the help of what method shall this study be pursued? By the rationalistic method. It is summarily taken for granted that " revelation ", the imparting to the human mind of any truth from without, is not even to be taken into consideration; in the modern world we must both act and think for ourselves. If the old solutions are to be considered at all, they must be judged with reference to the conclusions of philosophy. Only what the mind can evolve out of its own consciousness and ground at least temporarily on plausible proofs, shall be admitted as of any value. Now it is much more important to know how we should live, than to know what we should believe. The primacy of religious belief is

[48] *The Religious Aspect of Philosophy,* Preface, p. vi.

indeed a feature of highly developed religions; but for the mass of the faithful belief is relatively secondary to practice and may considerably vary, while the practice remains the unvarying and for them the vital feature. "The appeal that every religion makes to the masses of mankind, is most readily interpreted in terms of practice." "The savage converted to the Roman Catholic Church is regularly taught that for his imperfect stage of insight it is enough if he is fully ready to say, 'I believe what the Church believes, both as far as I understand what the Church believes and also as far as I do not understand what the Church believes.' And it is in this spirit that he must repeat the creed of the church. But his ideas about God and the world may meanwhile be as crude as his ignorance determines. He is still viewed as a Christian, if he is minded to accept the God of the Church of the Christians, even though he still thinks of God as sometimes a visible and 'magnified and non-natural man,' a corporeal presence sitting in the heavens, while the scholastic theologian who has converted him thinks of God as wholly incorporeal, as not situated *in loco* at all, as not even existent in time, but only in eternity, and as spiritual substance whose nature, whose perfection, whose omniscience, and so on, are the topics of most elaborate definition. The faithful convert and his scholastic teacher agree much more in religious practices than in conscious religious ideas." [49]

Over and above these merely knowable or believable truths, religious philosophy seeks something else: it wants to know what in this world is worthy of worship as the good; it seeks not merely the truth but the inspiring truth. It defines for itself goodness, moral worth, and then it asks: What in this world is worth anything? What in this world is worth most? It seeks the ideal among the realities; it seeks the moral law in its application to this daily life. What is the real nature of the distinction between right and wrong? What truth is there in this distinction? What ideal of life results?

Greek thought did not give us a sufficient foundation for morality. Neither does Christianity: the ultimate motive that Jesus gives to men for doing right is the wish to be in har-

[49] *Harvard Theol. Review*, ibid., p. 414.

mony with God's love. And the doctrine that God loves us is a foundation for duty only by virtue of the recognition of one yet more fundamental principle: the doctrine that unearned love ought to be gratefully returned. And for this principle theology as such gives no foundation: why is unearned love to be gratefully returned?

The whole ethical truth however is found in the "moral insight," which is opposed to ethical dogmatism accepting one separate end only, the salvation of the soul in Christianity. The moral insight "involves the will to act henceforth with strict regard to the total of the consequences of one's act for all the moments and aims that are to be affected by this act." Thus the separate men will not know or care whether they separately are happy, for they shall have no longer individual wills, but the Universal Will shall work in and through them.

This being the ethical norm which should guide us in our actions, the one highest activity in which all human activities are to join may be expressed as "the progressive realization by men of the eternal life of an Infinite Spirit." Or to put it in the form of a "categoric imperative": "Devote yourselves to losing your lives in the divine life." [50] And since our religious consciousness wants support for us in our poor efforts to do right, it finds this support in the concluding words of the 21st chapter of Mathew: "Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these, ye did it unto me." That is, if we may paraphrase the words of the judge: "I," he says, "represent all beings. Their good is mine. If they are hungry or naked or sick or imprisoned, so am I. We are brethren; ours is all one universal life. That I sit in this seat, arbiter of heaven and hell, makes me no other than the representative of universal life. Such reverence as ye now bear to me is due, and always was due, to the least of these my brethren." The infinite sacredness of all conscious life, that is the sense of the story. Now the knowledge such as Job sought, the knowledge that there is in the universe some consciousness that sees and knows all reality, including ourselves, for which therefore all the good and evil of our lives is plain fact,—this

[50] *Religious Aspect of Philosophy*, pp. 441, 442.

knowledge would be a religious support to the moral consciousness. The knowledge that there is a being that is no respecter of persons, that considers all lives as equal, and that estimates our acts according to their true value,—this would be a genuine support to the religious need in us, quite apart from all notions about reward and punishment.[51]

This is indeed a dreary teaching to serve as a foundation for the morality of the masses. The Absolute of this Hegelian philosophy, on which morality is ultimately to rest, has surely nothing in common with the God of the Christians. "It is the night in which all cats are gray, and there appears to be no reason why anyone should harbor toward it the least sentiment of awe or veneration." [52]

The most recent developments of Idealism in this country have taken still another direction, and under the name of Pragmatism or Humanism have called forth a flood of acrimonious criticism and sharp retort.

Its exponents include F. C. S. Schiller (1864),[53] formerly of Cornell University, now at Oxford; and John Dewey (1859),[54] formerly of Chicago University and now at Columbia. But the most noted of them all is William James, the late Harvard professor (1842-1910).[55] His philosophy has many points of contact with that of Hegel, and when he gave to his volume on Pragmatism the subtitle: 'A new Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking', he acknowledged this indebtedness. For both, scientific truths, religious truths, even moral rules, are all provisional; they are working truths rather than finalities, the best to-date and yet liable to be superseded by something that will work better. This is the essence of Pragmatism. And the final conclusions of this philosophy, es-

[51] Ibid., p. 220.

[52] G. S. Fullerton, *Introduction to Philosophy*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1906, p. 192.

[53] *Riddles of the Sphinx*, 1891; *Axioms and Postulates*, 1902; *Humanism*, 1903; *Studies in Humanism*, 1907.

[54] *Psychology*, 1886; *Leibniz, a Critical Exposition*, 1888; *Outlines of Theory of Ethics*, 1891; *Study of Ethics*, 1893; *Studies in Logical Theory*, 1903.

[55] *The Principles of Psychology*, 1890; *The Will to Believe*, 1897; *Human Immortality*, 1898; *Talks to Teachers on Psychology*, 1899; *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902; *Pragmatism*, 1907; *The Meaning of Truth*, 1909; *A Pluralistic Universe*, 1909.

pecially as expressed in one of W. James's latest volumes, *A Pluralistic Universe*, if divergent at first glance from those of Hegel, are the same at bottom.

James writes: "I am myself anything but a pantheist of the monistic pattern." [56] Already Prof. G. Howison (1834),[57] of the University of California had in opposition to the monistic doctrine of Hegel, given currency to the theory of "personal idealism," admitting not one but a plurality of minds in the universe. Prof. James, however, developed this conception to its logical issue.

There are two very distinct types or stages in spiritualistic philosophy. The generic term spiritualism is subdivided into two species, the more intimate one of which is monistic, and the less intimate dualistic. The dualistic species is the theism that reached its elaboration in the scholastic philosophy, while the monistic species is the pantheism spoken of sometimes simply as idealism and sometimes as "post-Kantian" or "absolute" idealism. Dualistic theism is professed as firmly as ever at all Catholic seats of learning,[58] whereas it has of late years tended to disappear at our British and American universities, and to be replaced by a monistic pantheism more or less open or disguised. The theistic conception picturing God and His creation as entities distinct from each other, still leaves the human subject outside of the deepest reality in the Universe. The theological machinery that spoke so livingly to our ancestors, with its finite age of the world, its creation out of nothing, its juridical morality and eschatology, its relish for rewards and punishments, its treatment of God as an external contriver, an intelligent and moral governor, sounds as odd to us as if it were some outlandish savage religion.[59]

On the other side, the only way to escape from the paradoxes and perplexities that a consistently thought-out monistic universe suffers from as from a species of auto-intoxica-

[56] *Human Immortality*, p. vi.

[57] *The Conception of God*, 1897; *The Limits of Evolution and Other Essays*, 1901.

[58] Prof. James shows himself quite familiar with Catholic teaching, and although not agreeing with its conclusions, proves that he has taken the trouble to understand it and he exposes it without bias as found in Catholic manuals. Cf. *Varieties of Religious Experience*, pp. 436, ff.

[59] *A Pluralistic Universe*, pp. 23, 24, 29.

tion,—the mystery of the "fall" namely, of reality lapsing into appearance, truth into error, perfection into imperfection, of evil in short, the mystery of universal determinism, of the block-universe external and without a history—the only way of escape from all this is to be frankly pluralistic and assume that the superhuman consciousness, however vast it may be, has itself an external environment and consequently is finite. In other words, there is a God, but he is finite.[60] We are internal parts of God, and not external creations. God is not the absolute, but is himself a part when the system is conceived pluralistically.[61]

What is this "system conceived pluralistically"? The practical needs and experiences of religion[62] seem to me sufficiently met by the belief that beyond each man, and in a fashion continuous with him there exists a larger power which is friendly to him and to his ideal. Anything larger will do if only it be large enough to trust for the next step. It need not be infinite, it need not be solitary. It might conceivably be only a larger and more godlike self, of which the present self would be but the mutilated expression, and the Universe might conceivably be a collection of such selves, of different degrees of inclusiveness, with no absolute unity realized in it at all. Thus would a sort of polytheism return upon us.[63] We are glad for this outspoken confession.

If at the end of this study we try to pick some general ideas from this seething mass of contradictory theories, what do we find? In the first place, the postulates of God, human liberty, and immortality which Kant tried so jealously to put outside the pale of his destructive criticism, were, by the fatal logic of his own system, swept away by his successors, and American idealists have been in the front ranks of these ruthless destroyers. The purest spiritualistic monism has been

[60] Ibid., p. 311.

[61] Ibid., p. 317.

[62] Or, as Prof. James puts it on another occasion: "'The satisfaction through philosophy' of 'Man's religious appetites'." *Varieties of Rel. Experience*, Preface.

[63] Ibid., pp. 525-526. To bear out a point adverted to on previous occasions in this article, we register Prof. James's avowal that "notwithstanding my own inability to accept either popular Christianity or scholastic theism, as I apprehend the Budhistic doctrine of Karma, I agree in principle with that." *Varieties of Rel. Exp.*, p. 522.

the result. Even the "pluralism" of Prof. James is but an ill-concealed monism, since he also admits that there is but one "kind of things in the universe, namely minds." In the second place, when the postulates of Kant were done away with, and all truth confined to those verities evolved by the human mind according to the categories of the understanding, all revealed truth and all morality founded on it had to be passed by as altogether irrelevant to a scientific conception of the world. "Modern idealism has said good-by to theology forever." [64] Dogmas are no longer attacked with the fiery zeal of the old heretics; they are looked upon as not worth attacking. And lastly, all American idealists who have expressed themselves on the subject, profess open allegiance to the Oriental religions of India and China. Proclaiming on the housetops that they are intent on "proving all things and testing all things," they yet make their own the doctrines of the most unscientific and most unprogressive amongst the nations of the earth.

J. B. CEULEMANS.

Moline, Ills.

[64] Ibid., p. 448.

Analecta.

ACTA PII PP X.

AD R. D. PHILIPPUM FLETCHER, M.A., SODALITATIS MODERATOREM QUAE "OF OUR LADY OF RANSOM" NUNCUPATUR, XXV ANNIVERSARIO ADVENTANTE EX QUO SODALITAS IPSA CONDITA FUIT.

Dilecte fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Solertiae qua in moderanda ista *of Our Lady of Ransom* sodalitate versaris, iampridem, dilecte fili, ad Nos fama manavit. Propositum tamen Nostrum tibi bene locatos labores, uti suadebat caritas, gratulandi ad hanc distulimus diem, ut ab ipsa opportunitate subeuntis vigesimiquinti anniversarii ex quo ad hanc ipsam condendam sodalitatem studia adiecisti, et uberior et gratior accideret paternae significatio voluntatis. Optimam sane, libet profiteri, tibi tuisque colendam elegisti christianae caritatis partem: et ista quae te, quae sodales tuos sollicitat, de iis cura qui a nobis dissident; preces quibus vel deviis maturum reditum, vel periclitantibus in fide constantiam, vel igni piaculari addictis gaudia superum imploratis, cum in vobis intelligens arguunt de *fraternitatis caritatae* iudicium, quae illuc promptior accurrit ubi opitulandi necessitas maior, tum Nostrae curae ac cotidianis precibus plane congruunt. Atque utinam communi prece exoratus, communibus Deus annuat votis!

Ad vos quod attinet, pergite hoc tam sanctum, tam frugiferum deprecandi officium diligenter, ut facitis, urgere. Verum sinite ut ad illud vos hortemur quod decessor Noster f. r. Leo XIII, in Epistola apostolica *Amantissimae voluntatis* Angliae catholicos alloquens, commendatissimum esse volebat; nimirum ut ne quid ipsi " de se desiderari ullo modo sinerent quod impetrationis fructum officeret. Nam praeter virtutes animi, quas ipsa precatio in primis postulat, eam comitentur necesse est actiones et exempla christianae professioni consentanea. Qui sancte colunt ac perficiunt praecepta Christi, eorum scilicet votis divina liberalitas occurrit, secundum illud promissum: *Si manseritis in me et verba mea in vobis manserint, quodcumque volueritis petetis, et fiet vobis*".

Divinorum auspicem munerum Nostraeque testem benevolentiae, tibi, dilecte fili, et omnibus sodalibus tuis, apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die XXV aprilis anno MCMXII, Pontificatus Nostri nono.

PIUS PP. X.

S. CONGREGATIO RITUUM.

I.

INSTRUCTIO SUPER PRIVILEGIIS QUAE IN TRIDUO VEL OCTIDUO SOLEMNITER CELEBRANDO INTRA ANNUM A BEATIFICATIONE VEL CANONIZATIONE PER RESCRIPTUM SACRAE IPSIUS CONGREGATIONIS A SUMMO PONTIFICE CONCEDI SOLENT.

I. In solemniis, sive triduanis sive octiduanis quae in honore alicuius Sancti vel Beati celebrari permittuntur, Missae omnes de ipsa festivitate ob peculiarem celebritatem dicantur cum *Gloria* et *Credo*, et cum Evangelio S. Ioannis in fine, nisi legendum fuerit ultimum Evangelium Dominicae aut feriae, aut vigiliae, quoties de his facta fuerit commemoratio.

II. Missa solemnis seu cantata, ubi altera Missa saltem lecta de Officio currenti celebretur, dicatur cum unica Oratione; secus fiant illae tantummodo commemorationes quae in duplicibus primae classis permittuntur. Missae vero lectae dicantur cum omnibus commemorationibus occurrentibus, sed ora-

tionibus de tempore et collectis exclusis. Quoad Prefationem serventur Rubricae ac Decreta.

III. Missam cantatam impediunt tantum Duplicia primae classis, eiusdemque classis Dominicae, nec non feriae, vigiliae et octavae privilegiatae quae praefata duplicia excludunt. Missas vero lectas impediunt etiam Duplicia secundae classis, et eiusdem classis Dominicae, et feriae, vigiliae atque octavae quae eiusmodi Duplicia primae et secundae classis item excludunt. In his autem casibus impedimenti, Missae dicendae sunt de occurrente Festo vel Dominica, aliisve diebus ut supra privilegiatis, prouti ritus diei postulat, cum commemoratione de Sancto vel Beato et quidem sub unica conclusione cum Oratione diei in duplicibus primae et secundae classis; aliis autem diebus commemoratio de Sancto vel Beato fiat sub distincta conclusione post orationem diei.

IV. In Ecclesiis ubi adest onus celebrandi Missam conventualem, vel parochialem cum applicatione pro populo, eiusmodi Missa de occurrente Officio nunquam omittenda erit.

V. Si Pontificalia Missarum de Festivitate ad thronum fiant, haud Tertia canenda erit, episcopo paramenta sumente, sed Hora Nona: quae tamen Hora de ipso Sancto vel Beato semper erit; substitui nihilominus eidem Horae de die pro satisfactione non poterit.

VI. Quamvis Missae omnes vel privatae tantum impediri possint, semper nihilominus secundas Vesperas de ipsa Festivitate solemniores facere licebit absque ulla commemoratione; quae Vesperae tamen de Festivitate pro satisfactione inservire non poterunt.

VII. Aliae functiones ecclesiasticae praeter recensitas, de Ordinarii consensu, semper habere locum poterunt, uti Homilia inter Missarum solemnia, vel vespere Oratio panegyrica, analogae in honorem Sancti vel Beati fundendae preces, et maxime solemnis cum Venerabili Benedictio. Postremo vero Tridui vel Octidui die Hymnus *Te Deum* cum versiculis *Benedicamus Patrem, Benedictus es, Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum* et oratione *Deus cuius misericordiae* cum sua conclusione nunquam omittetur ante *Tantum ergo* et orationem de Ssmo Sacramento.

VIII. Ad venerationem autem et pietatem in novensiles Sanctos vel Beatos impensius fovendam, Sanctitas Sua, the-

sauros Ecclesiae aperiens, omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus qui vere poenitentes, confessi ac Sacra Synaxi refecti, ecclesias vel oratoria publica, in quibus praedicta triduana vel octiduana solemnia peragentur, visitaverint, ibique iuxta mentem eiusdem Sanctitatis Suae per aliquod temporis spatium pias ad Deum preces fuderint, indulgentiam plenariam in forma Ecclesiae consueta, semel lucrandam, applicabilem quoque animabus igne piaculari detentis benigne concedit: iis vero qui corde saltem contrito, durante tempore enunciato, ipsas ecclesias vel oratoria publica inviserint, atque in eis uti supra oraverint, indulgentiam partialem centum dierum semel unoquoque die acquirendam, applicabilem pari modo animabus in purgatorio existentibus, indulget.

Die 22 maii 1912.

FR. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus.*

L. * S.

✠ PETRUS LA FONTAINE, Ep. Charystien, *Secret.*

II.

SOCIETATIS MISSIONARIORUM SACRATISSIMI CORDIS IESU.

DUBIA.

Hodiernus redactor calendarii Societatis Missionariorum sacratissimi Cordis Iesu de consensus sui Rmi Procuratoris generalis, a sacra Rituum Congregatione humillime petiit solutionem insequentium dubiorum, nimirum:

I. Lectiones II Nocturni in festo S. Agnetis V. M. suntne historicae, ita ut legi possint et debeant tanquam IX lectio si idem festum ob occurrentiam festi superioris ritus vel dignitatis simplificetur?

II. In Completorio post II Vesperas Dominicae Palmarum debentne dici preces, quando in Vesperis facta sit commemoratio duplicis die sequenti occurrentis, proindeque simplificati?

III. In locis in quibus festum Beati Gasparis del Bufalo, Confessoris, recolitur sub ritu duplici maiori vel minori, dicendaene sunt lectiones I Nocturni propriae, an potius de Scriptura occurrente?

IV. 1° Antiphonae et psalmi ad Matutinum Commemorationis omnium Ss. Romanorum Pontificum, e communi Apostolorum desumpta, itane censenda sunt propria ut recitari

debeant etiam si eiusmodi festum celebretur sub ritu duplici maiori vel minori; an potius, utpote de communi desumpta, cedere debent antiphonis et psalmis de feria?

2° Idemque estne dicendum de responsoriis I Nocturni, ita ut, omissis lectionibus de Scriptura occurrente, recitandae sint lectiones " Laudemus viros " de communi?

V. Infra octavam Commemorationis solemnis sanctissimi Corporis D. N. I. C., si fiat commemoratio duplicis simplificati, debentne adiungi tertia oratio, an potius omitti?

VI. 1° In Missis de vigilia vel de feria propriam Praefationem non habente, dicendane est Praefatio propria festi vel octavae cuius factum sit officium?

2° Itemque in eisdem Missis dicendumne est *Credo* ratione festi vel octavae symbolum habentis?

VII. In Missis pro Sponsis, sicut in aliis Missis votivis ex privilegio celebratis, in duplicibus adiungendane est tertia oratio?

Et sacra Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audito Commissionis Liturgicae suffragio, re sedulo perpensa, ita rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. Affirmative.

Ad II. Negative.

Ad III. Serventur propriae, si fuerint concessae, iuxta novas Rubricas, tit. I, n. 4.

Ad IV. Quoad 1^um^ affirmative ad primam partem, negative ad secundam. Quoad 2^um^ affirmative.

Ad V. Omittatur tertia Oratio.

Ad VI. Quoad 1^um^ affirmative. Quoad 2^um^ negative.

Ad VII. Negative.

Atque ita rescripsit ac declaravit, die 24 maii 1912.

FR. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *S. R. C. Praefectus.*

L. * S.

✠ PETRUS LA FONTAINE, Episc. Charystien, *Secretarius.*

III.

LITTERAE CIRCULARES AD REV.MOS LOCORUM ORDINARIOS QUOAD PROPRIA OFFICIORUM DIOECESANA.

Illme et Rme Domine, uti Frater,

Quum Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X magnae curae sit, ut Breviarii Romani reformatio ad unguem per-

ficiatur; opere pretium erit, etiam lectiones historicas cuique dioecesi proprias ad trutinam revocare. Quamobrem gratissimum Summo Pontifici fecerit Amplitudo Tua, si pro virili curabit, ut in ista dioecesi Tibi commissa, viri periti eligantur qui, conlatis consiliis, historicas lectiones quas supra dixi, diligenter examinent easque cum vetustis codicibus, si praesto sint, aut cum probata traditione conferant. Quod, si repererint eas historias contra fidem codicum et solidae traditionis in aliam formam a nativa degenerasse, omni ope adlaborent ut vera narratio restituatur.

Omnia vero maturius expendenda sunt, ne quid desit ex ea diligentia, quae collocanda est in reperiendis codicibus, in eorum variis lectionibus conferendis et in vera traditione observanda. Nec profecto opus est festinatione: putamus enim spatium ad minus triginta annorum necessarium, ut Breviarii reformatio feliciter absolvatur.

Interea cum opus in ista dioecesi perfectum fuerit; Amplitudo Tua ut illud ad hanc Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem mittatur, pro sua pietate sataget: ita tamen, ut si quid in lectionibus historicis additum vel demptum aut mutatum fuerit, rationes quae ad id impulerunt, brevi sed lucida oratione afferantur.

Dum haec, de speciali mandato Summi Pontificis, Amplitudini Tuae significo, diuturnam ex animo felicitatem adprecor.

Romae, die 15 maii 1912.

Amplitudinis Tuae

Uti Frater addictissimus

FR. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus.*

L. * S.

✠ PETRUS LA FONTAINE, Episc. Charystien., *Secretarius.*

NOTA. Hisce similes litterae missae sunt ad Praepositos generales Ordinum seu Congregationum Religiosorum, quoad Propria Officiorum ipsis concessa.

S. CONGREGATIO INDICIS.

I.

DECRETUM QUO QUAEDAM PROHIBENTUR OPERA.

Feria II. die 6 maii 1912.

Sacra Congregatio Eminentissimorum ac Reverendissimorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalium a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papa X Sanctaque Sede Apostolica Indici librorum pravae doctrinae, eorumdemque proscriptioni, expurgationi ac permissioni in universa christiana republica praepositorum et delegatorum, habita in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano die 6 maii 1912, damnavit et damnat, proscripsit proscribitque, atque in Indicem librorum prohibitorum referri mandavit et mandat quae sequuntur opera:

ABBÉ JULES CLARAZ, *Le mariage des prêtres. Paris 1911.*

IZSÓF ALAJOS, *A gyakori szent áldozás és az életpszichologia. Budapest 1910.*

TH. DE CAUZONS, *Histoire de l'inquisition en France. Paris 1909.*

Itaque nemo cuiuscumque gradus et conditionis praedicta opera damnata atque proscripta, quocumque loco et quocumque idiomate, aut in posterum edere, aut edita legere vel retinere audeat, sub poenis in Indice librorum vetitorum indictis.

Quibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X per me infrascriptum Secretarium relatis, Sanctitas Sua Decretum probavit, et promulgari praecepit. In quorum fidem etc.

Datum Romae, die 9 maii 1912.

F. CARD. DELLA VOLPE, *Praefectus.*

L. * S.

THOMAS ESSER, O.P., *Secretarius.*

II.

DUBIUM.

Sacra Congregatio Eminentissimorum ac Reverendissimorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalium a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papa X Sanctaque Sede Apostolica Indici librorum pravae doctrinae eorumdemque proscriptioni, expurgationi ac permissioni in universa christiana republica

praepositorum et delegatorum, habita in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano die 6 maii 1912, ad dubium:

"Utrum Episcopus loci, in quo aliquis auctor eidem non subditus "librum, a proprio Ordinario iam examinatum et praelo dignum iudicatum, publici iuris facere desiderat, istius libri impressionem permittere possit, quin eum novae censurae subiicere debeat"

respondendum censuit:

"Affirmative, apponendo iudicium 'Nihil obstare' censoris alterius dioecesis, ab istius Ordinario sibi transmissum."

Quibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X per me infrascriptum Secretarium relatis, Sanctitas Sua responsionem Eminentissimorum Patrum confirmavit et promulgari praecepit.

Datum Romae, die 9 maii 1912.

F. CARD. DELLA VOLPE, *Praefectus.*

L. * S.

THOMAS ESSER, O.P., *Secretarius.*

S. CONGREGATIO DE SACRAMENTIS.

DECRETUM CIRCA IMPEDIMENTUM EX ADULTERIO CUM ATTENTATIONE MATRIMONII PROVENIENS.

Non raro accidit, ut qui ab Apostolica Sede dispensationem super matrimonio rato et non consummato, vel documentum libertatis ob praesumptam mortem coniugis obtinuerunt, ad consulendum suae animae saluti, novum matrimonium in facie Ecclesiae cum iis celebrare velint cum quibus, priore vinculo constante, connubium mere civile, adulterio commisso, contraxerunt.

Porro quum ab impedimento proveniente ex adulterio cum attentatione matrimonii, quod obstat in casu, peti ut plurimum haud soleat dispensatio, Ssmus D. N. Pius Papa X, ne matrimonia periculo nullitatis exponantur, de consulto Emorum Patrum sacrae huius Congregationis de disciplina Sacramentorum, statuit ut in posterum dispensatio a dicto impedimento in casu concessa censeatur per datam a S. Sede sive dispensationem super matrimonio rato et non consummato, sive permissionem transitus ad alias nuptias.

Quoad praeteritum vero eadem Sanctitas Sua matrimonia quae forte ex hoc capite invalide inita fuerint, revalidare et sanare benigne dignata est.

Idque per praesens eiusdem sacrae Congregationis decretum promulgari iussit, quibuslibet in contrarium non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex aedibus eiusdem sacrae Congregationis, die 3 mensis iunii, anno 1912.

D. CARD. FERRATA, *Praefectus.*

L. * S.

PH. GIUSTINI, *Secretarius.*

CURIA ROMANA.

PONTIFICAL APPOINTMENTS.

24 April, 1912: The Rev. John Biermans, of the Missionary Society of St. Joseph, Mill Hill, is appointed Vicar Apostolic of the Upper Nile, with the title of Bishop of Gargara (Monzuradi).

3 May, 1912: The Rev. John Matthew Mahony, Vicar General of the Diocese of Hamilton, made Domestic Prelate.

Mr. Charles Conrad Shaw, of Leamington (England) receives the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Sylvester.

8 May, 1912: The Rev. Canon Philip Choquette, Rector of the Seminary of St. Hyacinth, made Domestic Prelate.

Monsignor John Meany, of the Diocese of Aberdeen, appointed Secret Chamberlain, supernumerary, of the Pope.

14 May, 1912: The Rev. Canon James Paul, of the Diocese of Aberdeen, made Domestic Prelate.

15 May, 1912: The Rev. Dr. John D. Biden, rector of St. Joseph's Cathedral, Buffalo, made Domestic Prelate.

22 May, 1912: The Holy Father appoints Cardinal Diomede Falconio Protector of the Third Order of St. Francis, having its Motherhouse at Glen Riddle, in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

1 June, 1912: Mr. James Prendergast and Mr. Henry Cunningham, both of the Archdiocese of Boston, made Knights of the Order of St. Gregory the Great (civil class).

Studies and Conferences.

OUR ANALECTA.

The Roman documents for the month are:

PONTIFICAL LETTER to the Rev. Philip Fletcher, M.A., commending his work as director of the Guild of Our Lady of Ransom for the Conversion of England, on the occasion of the Society's twenty-fifth anniversary.

S. CONGREGATION OF RITES: 1. Instruction regarding the privileges that are usually granted during a triduan or octoduan celebration, when held within the year of the beatification or canonization of the person so honored.

2. Some liturgical questions referring to the calendar of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart.

3. Circular letter to all Archbishops and Bishops proposing the revision of the historical lessons which are proper to each diocese.

S. CONGREGATION OF THE INDEX: 1. Publishes a decree condemning three books.

2. Decides that a book, which is written by a priest of a diocese other than that in which it is to be published, need not be submitted afresh to his censor by the Ordinary of the diocese of publication, provided the volume gives the *Nihil obstat* of the author's diocesan authorities.

S. CONGREGATION OF THE SACRAMENTS issues a decree concerning the impediment that arises from adultery with attempted marriage.

ROMAN CURIA gives list of recent Pontifical appointments.

TI EMOI KAÍ ΣΟΙ, ΓΥΝΑΙ;—WITHOUT COMMENT.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

Allow me a word on the time-honored question "Quid mihi et tibi." Every commentator claims that it is a very old question, and that no satisfactory solution has been given, except the one he may be writing. And the solution is not yet.

Where did this harsh, Puritanical interpretation arise? It goes back even beyond the days of the Puritans; it is almost

lost in history. Perhaps some old sour-visaged Rabbin, in whose heart there never was a spark of human or divine love, gave utterance to it. It is truly unworthy of Christian origin.

To say that this was a characteristic of the manner of speaking, an idiom of the language of the people of Palestine, or that the idiom is used to-day in Mesopotamia, or in the lands of Abbé Huc, does not change the interpretation, or give us any new light on the subject. It rather confounds. It also confesses that there is something wrong with the sentence or, properly, reply.

We have all been so taught that we hang our hat on this peg—"It is an idiom of the language." This is the very answer a professor gave us in class one day. We looked up to our professors then as oracles in all abstruse subjects. Many of us since have found those oracles to be about as reliable as the oracles of ancient Rome.

But back to the question. What did Christ really say? You philologists turn to your Greek and tell us that St. John wrote the Gospel in Greek; he was not writing a play; he gave us no stage settings; he gave us no "asides"; he made no marginal nor foot-notes. He left these latter for the commentators, and they have spoiled the passage. They have covered it, so to speak, with smoke. Who was Christ, and what did He say on this occasion? Christ was God, a Divine Person, walking among, and speaking to men. He was all love, Love itself. He was all amiability, all politeness. In polite conduct, and correct manner of speaking, He was an examplar for mankind for all time.

Christ was at the wedding by invitation. His mother was there also, presumably by invitation. She may have been a relative of one of the contracting parties; in which case she was more than ordinarily solicitous about the preparations and the banquet. There were also four of the Apostles present. St. John does not say whether he was present or not. If he were present, he afterward wrote down the words as he heard them. If he were not present, he wrote the words he was inspired to write. We do not know where Christ and His Mother sat at the banquet. All we know about it is that Mary saw that there was not a sufficient quantity of wine for the feast. How and where she told Christ about it we do

not know. Did she come and whisper, or speak in an "aside" to Him, or did she call Him to the end of the room where the viands were prepared? We do not know. But we do know that she told Him of the small quantity of wine. We have Christ's answer as St. John wrote it. "Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί γύναι—(Madam), (My Dear), Lady, what is this to me and to you?, My hour (to work wonders) has not yet arrived?" "Lady, this is no affair of ours, (we are only guests)." "Lady, we did not prepare this feast," (the material part). Or, "Lady, is it our affair?" (are we supposed to furnish wine?) Or still further, "Is this a part of the program you have arranged?"

This was all said in a quiet manner. His inflection of voice is not given. His expression of face is not mentioned. Mary understood. She knew what He would do, as the resulting miracle proved. Why try to read into it something not there? As, "What is there between me and you?"

Evidently all that was said was in a low tone of voice, or in an aside, as the bridegroom, and chief steward, and guests knew nothing about what was happening; "but the waiters knew".

Did Christ not thus hesitate before the servants to put to test her importunity, to show her faith in what He could do, and to show indirectly that He would grant her any favor even inopportunely asked?

If we now examine the words closely, we will find that there is not a harsh note in any of those words used by Christ. The word "gunai" means something more than simply woman. It is also a term of endearment, a term of polite address. Used in such relations it was common among the Greeks. Christ might have said, "Mother"; but Christ was polite. Christ used this same term while hanging on the cross. This same St. John tells us in the nineteenth chapter of this same Gospel, that Christ, while hanging on the cross, turned to Mary and asked her to be a mother to St. John, His beloved Apostle. He did not address her, "Mother," but Γύναι, ἰδε ὁ υἱος σου —Lady, behold thy son." He used a more endearing term than Mother. Then He spoke to St. John, and said, "Ἰδε ἡ μήτηρ σου.—Son, behold thy mother." There could be no mistake about what He meant here. Christ is careful in His

dying moments to address His mother by the endearing term, Lady.

Read this passage just as it was written by a Greek scholar for Greek readers. True he used an ellipsis; but the genius of the language calls for, or rather permits, such.

Consider the time and place and all the settings, and then ask, could Christ, who was so kind to the lepers, and the fallen, be ungentlemanly, or seemingly rude, to His Mother? No.

"My dear, My Lady, O Mother, are we to furnish some wine for this feast?" "My Dear, did you really arrange for me to begin my work before time?" Such is what Christ said; but St. John wrote it in Greek.

J. J. LOUGHRAN.

Seward, Neb.

THE PRESCRIBED REVERENCE IN PONTIFICAL MASSES AND VESPERS.

Qu. In Pontifical Mass and in Pontifical Vespers, the Baltimore Ceremonial provides that the ministers make their reverences to the bishop by bowing, when passing before the altar, or going to and from the throne. The *Ceremoniale Episcoporum,* however, provides that they genuflect when so doing.

Will you please advise me whether there is any decree from Rome authorizing the bows, instead of the genuflections provided for in the *Ceremoniale,* or whether custom in the United States makes it lawful to bow rather than genuflect?

Resp. The late P. Schober, C.SS.R., an authority on rubrical interpretation, in his quasi-official commentary, *Caeremoniae Missarum Solemnium et Pontificalium* (edit. 1909), referring to the above matter, has the following note, implying that the Baltimore Ceremonial overlooked a distinction which, though not applicable to all places alike, requires due consideration in a manual for general direction. The note referred to occurs in the Chapter "De Missa Solemni Pontificali ab Episcopo in Ecclesia Cathedrali celebranda," and reads as follows:

Qui non sunt de gremio Capituli semper genuflectere debent transeundo tam ante altare quam ante Episcopum, sive pontificaliter sive Cappa tantum aut Mozetta indutum; et reprobatur usus, ut solum-

modo caput et humeros inclinent. (S. R. C., die 9 Maji, 1857, in Din. n. 3046.) Canonici vero, quoties ante altare vel ante Episcopum transeunt, caput et humeros tantum profunde inclinant. Quare Assistentes et Ministri Sacri, nisi sunt Canonici, et omnes Ministri inferiores ante altare et Episcopum transeundo semper genuflectere debent; quod in sequentibus bene notandum est, quamquam postea dicetur: *profunda facta inclinatione* vel *factis debitis reverentiis.*

The distinction here made seems to settle the difficulty and show that it does not suffice to make a simple reverence instead of genuflecting at the Pontifical services, in cathedrals where there are no regular Canons.

INDULGENCE AND COMMUNION AT FORTY HOURS' DEVOTION.

Qu. At the close of Forty Hours' Devotion in a neighboring parish, several priests, my elders, firmly espoused the affirmative of the following query: Is it possible for those who make a visit to the Blessed Sacrament on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday of the Forty Hours' Devotion, to gain the Plenary Indulgence by receiving Holy Communion on Wednesday morning, the Devotion having closed with all solemnity the evening before? There was no particular reason suggested why the reception of Holy Communion did not take place on Sunday, Monday, or Tuesday. H. F. H.

Resp. The Indulgences specified in connexion with the Forty Hours' Prayer appear to require that the reception of the Sacraments take place on one or other of the days during which the Devotion lasts. A distinct concession has been granted, however, so as to extend the gaining of the Indulgences to those who receive on the day before or on the morning of the Exposition (*Decr. authent.* nn. 426 and 434.)

Behringer, however, in his great work on Indulgences (*Ablässe,* XIII ed. p. 84), cites the *Raccolta* (p. xv), to the effect that a Plenary Indulgence, issued in connexion with devotions that last throughout a month or for a number of days, may be gained if Holy Communion be received within the eight days which immediately follow the closing of the exercises. This concession would seem to apply to the Triduum of the Forty Hours Prayer, since "ubi lex non distinguit" and "favores ampliandi" are principles of general application, although there be no mention of it in the regulations for the Forty Hours' Adoration.

WHERE IS THE DIOCESE OF KEMPEN?

Qu. The July number of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* prints among its documents a letter from Cardinal De Lai in which he felicitates a bishop in the name of the Holy Father for founding a preparatory and a theological seminary in his diocese of Kempen. The Latin is *Campinense;* but there is no Kempen diocese, the little town of the famous Thomas being quite too insignificant a place for such a distinction. From the context of the document it is not possible to make out to what locality it is addressed. Can the editor of THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW throw light on the subject?

SCOTUS.

Resp. The name Kempen as mentioned above must be an error. The document referred to is addressed to the Bishop of Campinas, which city is located in São Paolo, Brazil, South America.

THE QUESTION OF MITIGATING THE EUCHARISTIC FAST.

Although the subject of the Eucharistic Fast and the advisability of mitigating the present discipline have been discussed in the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW at intervals during the last two years, by priests familiar with the conditions in missionary countries, there has been no decided voice among those to whom the Holy See must of necessity look for a proper representation and for an authoritative statement of facts on the subject. We understand that Bishop Gabriels of Ogdensburg, whose maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline and zeal for promoting Eucharistic devotion are attested by his public administration, had placed the question of the fast, among other difficulties likely to prevent the practice of frequent and daily Holy Communion, before our Holy Father, and that the latter, recognizing the reasonableness of the plea, under certain local conditions which obtain in the United States, had signified his readiness to modify the existing legislation, if the matter were presented in the proper manner as a request from the American Hierarchy.

That many thousands of our Catholic people, who would be anxious to profit by the invitation to receive the Bread of Life in their most dire need, are prevented from doing so by no other obstacle than the impossibility of observing the tradi-

tional fast, has been clearly demonstrated in these pages. The writers were not only from among our zealous and thoughtful priests, but also experienced and devout members of the laity, who hoped through the REVIEW to reach the ears and hearts of the Clergy and the Hierarchy, with whom lay the remedy for the untoward conditions against which they pleaded. They pleaded in behalf of the laboring classes, notably the poor girls employed in the shops of our factory towns and in the department stores of our cities; the night-workers, and the little children. What was asked was, that, if the ancient discipline allowing those who could do so, to approach the Holy Table daily, was to be restored, then also the ancient mitigated discipline of the fast be restored wherever necessity called for it.

Father Pernin's article on the subject in the May number of the REVIEW convinced many that, if a Jesuit Father could defend such a plea, there can be nothing irreverent or dangerous about it from the standpoint of Holy Church, though it need not follow that every member in the Society would at once stand for the same plea. The Rev. A. Van Sever made a good practical comment in our June number upon the article by Father Perrin, S.J., and we are glad to accede to his and Father Pernin's request to print the following communication, in the hope that it may call forth expressions from other thoughtful members of the Clergy who have not settled the whole matter for themselves and for their congregations by putting the problem out of their minds.

We might add here that at our suggestion the topic was proposed as a subject for discussion at the last Eucharistic Congress in Madrid. We had hoped that the proposal might serve as a preparatory measure for later discussion at the Eucharistic Congress to be held some time in the United States. Among the Latin Bishops the principle " Nihil innovetur " would be likely to rule the question out of court, for they can hardly have any realization of the actual conditions calling for a change of the time-honored practice of European countries. But Pius X, who sees more of the American Church's needs than any individual Bishop, realizes that both our mode of living and our practice of religion are based not on a theory of traditions but upon a theory of advance-

ment, and that the Americans apply this theory to the question of the salvation of souls as to all other questions. Of course we must have reverence and unity of discipline and a conforming obedience arising from respect for law and authority, but we must also have the liberty of spirit which our Lord meant to teach the Pharisees when he rejected their appeals to their Sabbath traditions and to their ceremonial customs, where the law of charity was being neglected. It is to be hoped that the matter will, under Divine Providence, fashion itself into proper legislation to meet our actual needs, through the next Eucharistic Congress, which we trust may be held in the United States in the year 1913.

In the meantime we hope that Fr. Van Sever's appeal, which we here print at Fr. Pernin's request, may serve as a means of bringing the question from the theoretical to the practical stage.

AN APPEAL FOR AN EXPRESSION OF SENTIMENT AND ACTION.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

As many priests are interested in the movement which looks toward securing from the Holy See some mitigation of the Eucharistic Fast (as set forth in an article in the May issue of the REVIEW), I beg leave to make the following practical suggestions.

1. It is evident that some concerted action should be taken to show a widespread desire on the part of the priests to secure this favor.

2. Hence I would respectfully ask that all priests interested in this matter should write to the undersigned at once, pledging their support to this movement.

3. After a sufficient number of pledges have been secured, a Committee may be formed which will draw up a petition and forward it in the right way to the proper authorities.

4. As it is necessary to interest as many priests as possible in this movement, I would earnestly request that every priest anxious to secure this privilege should interest his friends among the clergy and induce them to forward their names to the undersigned.

5. If it is judged advisable to print circulars, etc., it will be a pleasure for me to write a substantial check.

A. VAN SEVER.

Route 2, Grand Rapids, Wisconsin.

Ecclesiastical Library Table.

SOME RECENT APOLOGETIC WORKS.

Monsignor Batiffol, whose *Primitive Catholicism* and *History of the Roman Breviary* in their English translations have made his name known to American readers, gave a series of lectures, the first in a course of Higher Religious Instruction, at Versailles, under episcopal sanction, during the early part of 1910. The subject he had selected was: What are the critical proofs of the general history of our Lord? The addresses were originally designed as an irenic appeal to the understanding of educated Frenchmen, by presenting the logical and historical evidence which attests the credibility of the Gospels. Owing to the publication, at the time, of a volume entitled *Orpheus* by Salomon Reinach, which made a passionate onslaught upon the credibility of the Gospel narrative, and which, because of its popular style, became the talk of the French public, Monsignor Batiffol somewhat altered the form of his lectures and turned them into a critical examination of Reinach's statements. These he proved to be a series of arbitrary assertions, partly true, partly false, or resting on incomplete historical data and lacking the essentials of honest and enlightened scholarship.

In their present perfected literary form the lectures are admirably adapted for general argument in defence of evangelical truth. They trace the current of rationalistic polemics, and offer a succinct and methodical series of proofs. The author prefers to draw his weapons of defence from admissions by the recognized historical authorities among the rationalist critics themselves. Thus he makes Harnack, Jülicher, Schürer, J. Weiss, and Wernle answer Professor Reinach, wherever they do not unite against the Catholic position, a process by which the traditional credibility of the Gospels becomes clearer than by the simple appeal to patristic testimony. Batiffol states the case of early non-Christian testimony to the work of Christ, especially the testimony of Josephus and of the rabbis of Apostolic times, in a clear and unbiased manner, which must appeal to any unprejudiced reader who looks for historical accuracy. Under the author's method of examination the statement made by Reinach and others, that the historic Jesus is essentially intangible, turns into vapor. With Christ, in the Gospels, established as the Messiah and founder of a Church that was to rise upon the very foundation of the destroyed Jewish Church, the truths of Catholicity gain a new assertive strength, well calculated to dispel the popular

scepticism that delights in deifying self. The translation, which is admirable, is by Father George Pollen, the English Jesuit, who has wisely made the incident references conform to English editions and versions of the works cited by the author.

An American Jesuit, Father T. W. Drum, through the Dubuque Apostolate publishes *Christ is God,* a lecture in which he goes exclusively to the New Testament for proofs. The value of the pamphlet in connexion with the demonstrations of Monsignor Batiffol, is manifest. Father Drum brings together the evidence furnished by the sacred text for the Divinity of Christ, from the testimony of His enemies, His friends, His works, and from the fact of His resurrection from the tomb.

To these proofs may be added the statements of Christ who Himself asserts His Divinity. These statements have been assumed by the older exegetes to find their ultimate and complete embodiment in the fourth Gospel; and accordingly St. John has been referred to as the chief witness for the Divinity of our Lord. In recent years rationalistic criticism has sought to weaken the traditional confidence in the historical value of the Gospel of St. John, and we are referred to the Synoptics as the only acceptable source of historical information. Here too we have some strong statements attesting the Divinity of Christ in His own words, the most remarkable of which is found in St. Matthew's Gospel (11:27): "All things are delivered to Me by My Father. And no one knoweth the Son but the Father; neither doth any one know the Father, but the Son, and he to whom it shall please the Son to reveal Him." The passage is substantially found in St. Luke 10:22, not however in St. Mark (though St. Irenaeus seems to have seen a reading of it there—Hær. IV, 6, 1). It coincides, however, with different expressions in St. John (6:46; 7:28; 8:19; 10:15). It is clear that in proportion to the growth of the sentiment which refuses to accept St. John as historical evidence for our Lord's Divinity, claimed by Himself and proved by His acts, the importance of the testimony of Saints Matthew and Luke grows apace.

In view of this fact the attempt of the rationalistic critics has been in the direction of destroying or weakening the force of St. Matthew's testimony as a later addition to the text. The answer to this assertion comes in a recently published study by Dr. Heinrich Schumacher (Freiburg: Herder) under the title *Selbstoffenbarung Jesu bei Matt. 10:27 (Luc. 10:22).* The author succeeds in demonstrating by a process of critical exegesis that the passage re-

ferred to in the above Synoptics is unquestionably as genuine as the remainder of the historical text. And if it be once established that the Apostolic witnesses stood for the Divinity of Christ, then the argument of a Christological development, attributed to the supposed later composition of the Johannine Gospel, falls to the ground, since it rests in large part on a *petitio principii*. Dr. Schumacher examines every detail of the problem in the most approved fashion of higher criticism. His excursion into the literature of the subject is singularly wide, from the Apostolic writers down to the latest adept in philological critique. Popularized the work would complete the apologetic argument which Professor Batiffol makes in his defence of the Gospels.

TWO FRENCH NOVELS.

Davidée Birot, by René Bazin and recently translated into English (Scribner's Sons, New York), gives us a glimpse of the conditions, social and moral, of the public lay teachers in the country towns of Western France. The people have little or no religion; many of them, especially the workmen, are quite godless and of the rude socialist type. But there is a remnant of the faithful, and there are Catholic traditions which still exercise a certain influence upon those of the community who are well disposed. The lay teachers are expected to eliminate these traditions from the young mind, to teach the children that there is no God or that He is the Unknowable, and that the Catholic Church is merely a political institution, a remnant of the old monarchical regime, opposed to the State. Davidée Birot realizes the hopelessness of inculcating and preserving womanly and manly virtue without belief in God and the sanctions of religion, and she exerts herself to vindicate the principle of morality to which she holds by instinct and by reflection, among the people with whom she lives. Romance runs of course into the story and gives it life and attraction. There is something in its woof that recalls *De Toute son Ame* (Redemption), which we regard as Bazin's best work, although it was not one of those crowned by the French Academy.

Like most of the author's other novels, of which about half a dozen or a third of his productions have been translated into English, *Davidée Birot's* chief worth lies in a certain realism with which Bazin describes the religious thought and feeling of the peasants and workmen of his country, chiefly of that district which, bordering on the Atlantic coast, lies between the Loire and the Garonne. It is a religious condition which has lost its sap and freshness, and which explains to a large extent the apparent apathy with which a Catholic

people has allowed its churches and altars to be despoiled and its schools to be laicized. The fact that for generations a State-aided clergy has served the people, has left upon the latter the impression that when a priest is condemned by the State it is because he is inefficient for some reason or other; and the perfunctory ministry itself of the priests, who had nothing to urge them to special zeal, has in many cases no doubt confirmed the impression. Persecution has lifted this apathy and there is promise of the old seed ripening to bloom afresh.

Another French novel, the scene of which is set in the same district of Western France as is that of *Davidée Birot,* and which has the form of an autobiographical diary, is *Vendéenne,* by Jean Charruau (Pierre Téqui, Paris). It describes the conflict between the royal party and the revolutionists at the end of the eighteenth century. It was a conflict too between the old conservative principles of the Catholic faith and the assertion of so-called human rights against constituted authority. The author tells his story in the form of a diary written in 1852 by Madame Henriette Chambrun (née Vernon) of Château-Thebaud in the district of the Loire. It is a pathetic account of a wife and mother who was called upon to make heroic sacrifices for the love of God and her country's honor, by seeing her nearest kinsfolk one after another torn from her amid the ravages of the revolution. P. Charruau has written many beautiful volumes,—biographies like those of *P. Henri Chambellan* and of *Madame Pittar,* and educational essays and romances, like *Brother and Sister* and *Une Famille de Brigands.* The reader will recognize in *Vendéenne* familiar thoughts and ideals of all the old stories reproduced in a new and fascinating form and with the vividness of deeply religious conviction.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE POPES.

Bell and Sons of London (The Macmillan Company, New York) publish *A Chronicle of the Popes,* from St. Peter to Pius X, which will serve as an excellent introduction to a history of the Popes, or, for that matter, to the study of ecclesiastical history in general. "The history of the Papacy," writes the author, A. E. McKilliam, is "almost synonomous with the history of the civilized world from the early centuries of the Christian era." To the ordinary student the popular works of Mann, Pastor, Grisar, or of Ranke, Milman, Creighton, Montor, either deal only with isolated periods and aspects of the Papacy, or are too voluminous to permit of a sufficiently comprehensive survey and a just judgment of an institution which is

not only based on the same fundamental principle, but whose continuous and progressive activity is informed by a single motive. This is true, whatever the variety of forms may be which that motive has assumed in the course of twenty centuries. Mr. McKilliam gives the names, dates, and chief facts concerning each Pope in chronological order, thereby establishing a chain of connexion which shows the record of the facts to be continuous, although he makes no attempt to trace the causes or motives of the events. There is not a vestige of theological prejudice in the volume, nor any effort to settle unproved positions against the Catholic contention; indeed the author shows singular fairness both in his statements, and in not suppressing certain facts which throw favorable light upon the policy and acts of the Popes. The sources to which the author appeals, are, besides the *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* and other classic authorities, mentioned above, Bruys, Bower, de Rossi, Balzani, Stephens, Bryce (*Holy Roman Empire*), Gregorovius, Isaacson (*Later Popes*). Some of these might mislead the historical student if their inferences were not balanced also by reference to our best Catholic literature of recent date on the subject.

MANALIVE.[1]

Manalive is a queer book, not unlike in this to *The Ball and the Cross*. As the latter goes to show the ubiquity of insanity, the former is an apology for craziness. Innocent Smith, the leading character, who calls himself Roland Oliver Isiah Charlemagne Arthur Hildebrand Homer Henry Danton Michael Angelo Shakespeare Brakespeare Manalive, plays all kinds of practical jokes upon friend and foe alike. He is captured and subjected to a more or less burlesque sort of a trial, and finally acquitted. An extract from the plea for his defence presented by the inimitable advocate Michael Moon, may serve to give some idea of Manalive, both the character and the book. Innocent Smith, it is pleaded, behaves throughout all his career of crazy capering upon a plain and perfectly blameless principle which, though "odd and extravagant in the modern world," is not more so than "any other principle plainly applied in the modern world would be." His principle is this: "He refuses to die while he is still alive. He seeks to remind himself by every electric shock to the intellect that he is still a man alive, walking on two legs about the world. For this reason he fires bullets at his best friends; for this reason he arranges ladders and collapsible chimneys to steal his own property; for this reason he goes

[1] By G. K. Chesterton. New York: John Lane Co. Pp. 311. 1912.

plodding round a whole planet to get back to his own home. And for this reason he has been in the habit of taking the woman whom he loved with a permanent loyalty and leaving her about (so to speak) at schools, boarding-houses, and places of business, so that he might recover her again and again with a raid and a romantic elopement" (p. 298).

As there is some obvious method in Smith's craziness, one naturally looks for its controlling idea. The idea is this: "Living in an entangled civilization, we have come to think certain things wrong which are not wrong at all. We have come to think outbreak and exuberance, banging and barging, rotting and wrecking, wrong. In themselves they are not merely pardonable, they are unimpeachable. There is nothing wicked about firing off a pistol even at a friend, so long as you do not mean to hit him and know you won't. . . . There is nothing wrong in bashing down a chimney-pot and breaking through a roof, so long as you are not injuring the life or property of other men. . . . There is nothing wicked about walking round the world and coming back to your own house; it is no more wicked than walking round the garden and coming back to your own house." And so on. "You associate such acts with blackguardism by a mere snobbish association, as you think there is something vaguely vile about going (or being seen going) into a pawnbroker's or a public-house. You think there is something squalid and commonplace about such a connexion. You are mistaken." Now it was Smith's peculiar "spiritual power" that he discerned "between custom and creed". He broke the "conventions", but kept the "commandments". He is like a man found gambling wildly in a gambling-hell, but you find he is only playing for "trouser buttons".

But if you ask, "Why does Innocent Smith continue far into his middle age a farcical existence that exposes him to so many false charges?" the answer is "He does it because he really is happy, because he really is hilarious, because he really is a man and alive. He is so young that climbing garden trees, and playing silly practical jokes are still to him what they were once to us all. And if you ask me yet again why he alone among men should be fed with such inexhaustible follies," the answer is, whether you like it or not, "Innocent is happy because he *is* innocent. If he can defy the conventions it is just because he can keep the commandments, it is just because he does not want to kill, but to excite to life that a pistol is still as exciting to him as it is to a school boy." And so on.

Mr. Chesterton has come to be known as a genius, to whom oddities and whimsicalities are pardonable, balanced as they are by deeper intuitions. Paradoxes abound in *Manalive* as they do in

The Ball and the Cross. From the very fact that men disregard the commandments while holding to the conventions—straining at gnats and swallowing camels—he takes occasion to defend the ignoring of conventions where commandments are obeyed. To effect this he naturally minimizes the value of the former when set over against the supremacy of the latter. But that happiness is determined by innocence is doubtless his own conviction. "If one could keep as happy as a child or a dog, it would be by being as innocent as a child, or as sinless as a dog" (p. 303).

We can hardly of course suppose that Mr. Chesterton means to despise or condemn all conventions; and it would be superfluous, perhaps ridiculous, for a reviewer to suggest that the violation of, say, the "convention" not to fire off a pistol at a friend, even though "you do not mean to hit him and know you won't," is irrational, to say the least, and therefore not "pardonable", but decidedly "wrong". Mr. Chesterton, no more than Innocent Smith (Manalive), means to be taken seriously. Both author and character have set themselves to amuse, perhaps also to confirm a truism, and in both these functions they have succeeded. Needless to say, the book is not only burlesque, grotesque, and funny; it is also in some places vividly picturesque. Witness the wonderful painting of the freakish wind, at the opening of the story. Not even Dickens's classic description in *Martin Chuzzlewitt* can equal it. Paradoxes and epigrams of course start up everywhere. For instance: "As for science and religion, the known and admitted facts are few and plain enough. All that the parsons say is unproved. All that the doctors say is disproved. That's the only difference . . . " (p. 146).

Criticisms and Notes.

SAINT FRANCIS OF ASSISI. A Biography. By Johannes Jörgensen. Translated from the Danish with the author's sanction, by T. O'Conor Sloane, Ph.D. New York, London, Bombay, Calcutta: Longmans, Green & Co. 1912. Pp. xvi–428.

Jörgensen's biography of the Seraphic Saint has already been widely praised as perhaps the best of the eminent Danish convert's numerous descriptive works. As the author himself confesses, it was the altogether new light of mystic asceticism, as it glows in the Catholic Church, which attracted him in his search after noble ideals, and which made him conscious that the highest poetry finds its truest expression in the humble realism of monastic sanctity. This conscious in-breathing of the atmosphere of truth and purity that surrounds the remarkable group of which St. Francis was the centre, gives a freshness and buoyancy to the northern artist, who, captivated by the newness of his theme, throws into its presentation an enthusiasm that reflects the unexpected beauty and marvel aroused within his soul. It is this sense of novelty which characterizes Jörgensen's treatment of the old theme, pictured in such a variety of forms by artists of the pen as well as of the brush, and which permits him to keep the comprehensive viewpoint in his portraiture, often lost by artists who enjoy habitual intimacy with the Franciscan life.

Mr. Jörgensen pictures St. Francis in succession as the church builder, the evangelist, God's singer, and the solitary. The church builder is the youth who had dreamed at Gubbio of God's love for men, and who had then suddenly taken up the task of restoring the churches of S. Damiano, S. Pietro, and the Portiuncula. Then follow the journeys in the course of which he gathers his first disciples, writes his *forma vitae,* and elicits new forms of apostolic sanctity in followers like Brother Giles, Brother Juniper, John the Simple, and St. Clare.

The preaching of St. Francis is what our author styles his singing of God's songs. It is distinct from the "Song of Praise" in gratitude for the wounds of Christ reproduced in his body, or the famous Canticle of the Sun which the Saint composed later, when blindness had overtaken him at San Damiano in the summer of 1225.

Truly does Mr. Jörgensen seize the power of that preaching which captured by the attraction of its melody the listening birds and the beasts of the forest, no less than the "verse King", Guglielmo Divini, who on hearing the wondrous voice cried out, "Brother, take me away from men and give me to God!" And so it continued to charm men like the Florentine Dante a century later and others who, like Brother Pacificus, donned in time the grey clothes of the Order. *Viri literati,* and the banditti of the mountains were equally affected by the singular strains of the simple "poor little man" in the tattered garb. Yet the secret charm of the music was neither in the soft resonance of his voice nor in the persuasive plea of his doctrine, but in the undisguised threat of God's judgments which struck the hearts of men like well-aimed arrows shot by a master hand to pierce them through. "Despise the world, and be converted, so as to withstand the coming wrath"—this was his ordinary theme, we are told, and its effect was wondrous quick and lasting.

Those who heard and followed the simple admonition gradually formed the great body of men and women striving after perfection to whom St. Francis found himself obliged to give a rule of life and a permanent constitution for their government as a community. This included the organized mission work which soon brought, as its first fruits, martyrs whose memory gave the essential note of self-sacrifice to the spirit of the Order. These were triumphs to offset trials which threatened to disrupt the spirit of union from within. Dissensions, laxity of discipline, depreciation of the labors of the Saint, marked the tracks of the enemy in a field so rich in promise. The incidents of Gregory of Naples and Matthew of Narni in their attempt to change the rule by holding a chapter general in the absence of the Saint, the memorable conflicts between the Brothers of Penance and the authorities, are chapters that allow us an insight into the sorrows that must have afflicted the heart of the Saint, whose one ideal was harmony and love.

As an offset to the thorns that hedged round about this freshly-planted tree, we have the fairest flowering of sanctity in such Saints as Anthony or Padua and Clare of Assisi.

The characteristic love of poverty in the latter is made the especial theme of beautiful reflections in Mr. Jörgensen's biography. No power on earth could minimize the estimate which she had of this virtue as a means for preserving evangelical sanctity. When Gregory IX, on the occasion of the canonization of St. Francis in 1228, came to Assisi and saw the severity of the life of the daughters of the Saint, he offered to modify the rule, so as to release the nuns from their strict observance. "Holy Father," answered St.

Clare, "absolve me from my sins, if thou wilt, but never do I wish to be released in any way from following Christ forever." It was a rebuke which the Pope could never forget, for he himself, as Cardinal Hugolino, had arranged the *forma vivendi* given to the Poor Clares by St. Francis.

As to the Rule of St. Clare, the statement of our author (page 130) that "Innocent III gave his approval to this Rule even more formally than he had approved the Brothers' Rule", though it appears to rest on the authority of Gonzaga and Wadding, is, as Father Paschal Robinson points out in his admirable sketch on the subject (*The Rule of St. Clare,* pp. 18 and 19), erroneous. The proofs for this are given in detail by Lemmens in *Römische Quartalschrift* (XVI, 97).

The fourth part of Mr. Jörgensen's book describes, under the title of "Francis the Hermit", the literary activity and the home life of St. Francis. It shows forth especially his personal virtues,—his truthfulness, his zeal, his obedience, his spirit of prayer, his evangelic joy, his love of nature, intensified if anything by his blindness, and the reception of the Stigmata. Beautifully and touchingly does the author dwell upon the last scenes of the Saint's life, how he writes his Testament to the Brothers, sends his farewell to St. Clare, makes peace between the Bishop of Assisi and the Podesta, and then lets himself be carried down the olive-clad hill to his beloved Portiuncula, blessing Assisi on the way; and how, a few days later, he dies, amid the deep stillness and prayer of the Brothers in the little cell. "Mortem cantando suscepit," wrote Celano,—for the larks, his good friends, were twittering their last farewell around the house. Like Magdalen of old weeping over the dead body of her Master, "Brother Jacopa" fell weeping upon the lifeless body of St. Francis, and with burning tears coursing down her cheeks, kissed over and over again the wounds in the feet and hands of the dead Saint. It all reads charmingly from first to last.

In the Appendix are gathered the authorities for the biography of the Saint—his own writings, prose and poetry, those of the various groups that cluster around Thomas of Celano, Brother Leo, St. Bonaventure, and the *Speculum Perfectionis,* the *Legenda Antiqua* and the *Fioretti;* besides these, the historical sources include authorities outside the Order and modern writers.

All lovers of St. Francis must be deeply grateful for this attractive presentation of the unique figure; as also for the excellent translation of it into English by Dr. Sloane.

SOCIALISM AS IT IS. By William Walling. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1912. Pp. 464.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? An Exposition and a Criticism with Special Reference to the Movement in America and England. By James Boyle, Private Secretary to Governor William McKinley, former Consul of the United States at Liverpool, England. New York: The Shakespeare Press. Pp. 347. 1912.

There must needs be books that discuss Socialism as a philosophy and as a theory, economic and political; nor indeed can Socialism be properly understood unless these two distinct, if not entirely separable, aspects be abstracted and analyzed. When all this has been done, however, little more has been accomplished than an anatomical dissection of the skeleton, more or less articulated perhaps, of the system. The physiology, the account of the life processes, has been left out, and the vital principle ignored. True it is, of course, that the philosophical tenets underlying and permeating the system constitute its vital principle, its "form". On the other hand, those tenets are, to use a subtle distinction of the school, but the "metaphysical form", which gives the *esse rei,* only in the abstract. The "physical form" that constitutes and determines the *concrete* essence is all that aggregate of ideas, convictions, beliefs, theories, tendencies, proposals which make the system live, move, act, work,—all that complexus of forces and processes that bind Socialism into the world-movement which it really is. But it is this whole complexus, not isolated for abstract discussion, but immanent, vital, effective, urgent within the human movement itself,—this, at least, is living Socialism, the Socialism with which we have to reckon. Of course to understand this movement one must isolate, abstract, its principles, theories, programs, proposals; but one must remember that all these dwell together and are actually interfused, inextricably interblended in the real movement.

It is this sense of actuality, of objective real vitality that gives to Mr. Walling's work an almost unique place in the superabounding literature of Socialism. The book is, as its subtitle indicates, "a survey of the world-wide revolutionary movement". A "survey", indeed, yet something more. Not over, but beneath the surface, from within not from without the current, does the vision run. Socialism is seen first in its formative stage, its being shaped by its present environment—which is more and more tending from individual to collective capitalism, "State Socialism". Next, the internal processes, the political struggles within the movement, are

brought to the surface, the internal dissensions and factions not being minimized in the interest of a theoretically unified outlook. Lastly, the reaction of Socialism on its environment, its essentially revolutionary outcome, is presented. These are the fundamental lines on which the work is built. Needless to say, Mr. Walling, an intensely convinced Socialist himself, is an advocate, not merely a chronicler or narrator. At the same time he has produced a work which neither friend nor foe should pass by unconsidered. It is the priest's business, his duty, to understand, understand not simply Socialistic party programs, Socialistic abstractions, definitions, views. To be sure, all these are to be included. But Socialism in the souls and the lives of human beings, Socialism in action, is that which he must consciously realize whilst he withstands, or rather in order that he may withstand and oppose its oncoming. Though therefore he can and must differ from Mr. Walling in his whole attitude toward Socialism, he none the less may have something to learn from his opponent. *Fas est et ab hoste docere.*

After reading Mr. Walling's survey of the Socialist movement, it will be well to take up Mr. Boyle's answer to *What is Socialism?* The scope of his answer is determined by the subtitle, " Exposition and Criticism ". The former term covers the larger part of the treatment. The general significance of Socialism, the word, the thing, and the history of the movement in ancient days, and the various stages and phases of its modern development, indicate the outlines of some three hundred of the book's pages. Socialism in America and Great Britain receives principal consideration, its status in continental Europe being only briefly sketched. The criticism, though occupying but comparatively few pages, is qualitatively good—just and objective. The impracticability of Socialism both in its establishment and its administration, its contrariety to human nature, the enslavement of the individual which it would entail,—these and other such, while not novel, points of argument are clearly set forth and well illustrated. They are not likely to make much impression on the mind of the Socialist, for Socialism is primarily an emotional not a logical system, and only slightly pervious to argumentation. However, Mr. Boyle has written a book which the student of the world-wide movement should not fail to peruse. The concluding paragraph may here be quoted as illustrating the author's general temper of mind: " Socialism has its good side, although with characteristic effrontery it appropriates to itself as its peculiar possession attributes and forces which have been in beneficent operation through the long centuries by men who never heard

of Socialism, and by agencies which have always had the scorn and even hatred of the greatest of Socialists from Marx and Engels to Bax and Bebel. Nevertheless, Socialism, extravagant and impracticable though it be, has played a great part and is entitled to its share of credit in the ever onward and upward movement, limited to no class, no creed, no nationality, no theory of government or economics, for the amelioration of the lot of the sons of toil, the righting of wrong wherever found, and the uplifting of the race to higher places of life in all its aspects. But, as a universal condition of society, as a panacea for present evils, as the hope of the proletariat, Socialism in its complete conception is an absolute and a hideous impossibility" (p. 332). It is hardly necessary to subjoin that the author in the foregoing assignment of credit to Socialism for its "uplifting" beneficence, has generously omitted to attribute that influence not to Socialism as such, but to the humanity of Socialists, which is wiser and better than their creed.

THE COWARD. By Robert Hugh Benson, author of "The Conventionalists", "None other Gods", "The Sentimentalists", etc. St. Louis: B. Herder; London: Hutchinson & Co. 1912. Pp. 392.

Monsignor Benson continues to follow his manifest vocation—the presentation, namely, of Catholic truth to a non-Catholic public under the guise of the interesting stories which he is an adept in telling. He has the gift of writing novels that are sufficiently in the fashionable manner to attract the general reader, who, by the time he has finished one of the books, will have been not only entertained in a perfectly innocent manner, but also enlightened and instructed as to the true view to be taken of some of the problems of modern life. Also, whether he recognize it or not—and he can scarcely fail to do so—the attentive reader will have learnt that Catholic doctrine and practice offer a solution to many questions of which the insistence, we may safely say, is growing amongst thoughtful people. Sometimes, indeed, and particularly in one or two of his more recent novels, we have asked ourselves whether Mgr. Benson has been quite satisfying, and the speed at which he produces his books is such that the question is asked whether he is doing as good work as he can. Remembering his historical novels, we are tempted to wish for more of the same kind. But an author must follow his bent and inclinations, and Mgr. Benson doubtless feels he must strike while the iron is hot, or, to vary the metaphor, say what is in him when he feels moved to utterance.

The Coward is altogether an entertaining book, notwithstanding that it ends with the note of sadness. The hero, if we may apply

that term to Valentine Medd, is a member of an old Commoner family, in whose veins, as is sometimes the case with Commoners, flows much bluer blood than many titled families can boast of. He can trace his ancestry to times before the Norman Conquest. Mgr. Benson admirably describes the peculiar and unique atmosphere in which the children of such a family in England are brought up, and in doing so, shows a thorough appreciation of the character engendered by generations of such up-bringing. Of the stately Caroline house in which the Medds lived, and of the family history we read:

> "Altogether it is a tremendous place, utterly complete in itself, with an immemorial air about it; the great oaks of the park seem, and indeed are, *nouveaux riches,* besides its splendid and silent aristocracy; for Medhurst has stood here, built and inhabited by Medds, pulled down and rebuilt by Medds again and again, centuries before these oaks were acorns. For, as Heralds' College knows very well, though the Medds never speak of it, it is reasonably probable that a Medd lived here—after what fashion archæological historians only can relate—long before Saxon blood became tainted and debased by Norman.
>
> "It is remarkable that they have never become peers (a baronetcy has always, of course, been out of the question); but the serious fact seems to be that they have consistently refused this honor. It is not likely that they would have accepted such a thing from the upstart Conqueror; and after such a refusal as this, any later acceptance was of course impossible. In Henry VIII's reign they remained faithful to the old religion, and consequently in Elizabeth's reign were one of the few families in whose house that sovereign did not sleep at least one night of her existence; in fact they went abroad at that time and produced a priest or two, prudently handing over their property to a Protestant second cousin, whose heir, very honorably, handed it back when Charles I came to the throne. And then, when danger seemed more or less over, Austin Medd, about the time of the Oates Plot, in which he seems to have believed, solemnly changed his religion with as much dignity as that with which his grandfather had maintained it on a certain famous occasion which it would be irrelevant to describe.
>
> "Now when a Medd has done a thing, deliberately and strongly, it naturally becomes impious for later Medds to question the propriety of his action; and from thenceforth two or three traditions—moral heirlooms, so to speak—have been handed down at Medhurst. The objective reality of the Oates

> Plot, the essential disloyalty of Catholicism, the sacrosanctity of the National Church as a constitutional fact—these things are not to be doubted by any who bears legitimately the name of Medd" (pp. 4, 5).

Of two brothers, Austin, the elder, is of normal type, while Valentine, the younger, is afflicted with a nervous temperament which, it turns out in the end, makes him physically, at least, a coward. Early in the tale we are introducted to a priest, Father Maple, a great pianist, who, before the story is done, has a great deal to do with Valentine. Austin and his younger brother do not get on well together, and there is a good deal of unpleasant bickering between them.

Val's unfortunate disposition has already made itself manifest at school. He had been openly called a "funk" at football, and had once "avoided a fight with extreme dignity and self-restraint". He is introduced to us during a vacation at home, having just had a fall off his horse, with the result that he finished his ride in real terror, and was moved by this fact to a self-analysis which left him with the uncomfortable feeling that he really was a coward. This, of course, in such a family, would be simply an unpardonable sin.

Soon after this there comes an invitation to Switzerland. There Valentine and his brother are initiated into the delights and perils of mountain-climbing, about which Father Benson discourses eloquently. Val is really very much afraid of this sport. His fear leads him first to re-act against it by rashness; then, at a really bad jump which becomes necessary in the ascent of Matterhorn, his nerves give way entirely, and he collapses in the most pitiful manner. Later on he puts the seal on his disgrace by avoiding, at the last moment, a duel in Rome with a Roman prince who had insulted his lady-love; and on this occasion his brother has to take his place, and is wounded. The disgrace is real, and this time final, and poor Val (now a Cambridge undergraduate) is practically ostracized by his family, and jilted by his sweetheart into the bargain.

The real motive of the story comes in when, in his despair, poor Val, who is tempted to disbelieve alike in God and man, and has found little comfort from placing his confidence in a materialistic pseudo-scientist, opens his mind at last to Father Maple. This is Monsignor Benson's opportunity, well prepared for by all that has preceded, for introducing to his readers the methods of a Catholic priest in ministering "to a mind diseased". They were having tea in the priest's garden. After much "shying" on the part of the boy, who has been more than half won already by Father Maple's wonderful playing on the pianoforte, the good priest gains his confidence at

last, and Val unburdens his misery. He had resolved on suicide shortly before, but had drawn back at the last minute—afraid. This is what Father Maple says, after he has patiently listened to Val's woeful tale:

"The first point is, Are you a coward really? To that I say, Yes and No. It depends entirely upon what you mean by the word. If it is to be a coward to have a highly strung nervous system and an imagination, and further, in moment of danger to be overwhelmed by this imagination, so that you do the weak thing instead of the strong thing, against your real will, so to speak, then—Yes. But if you mean by the word coward what I mean by it—a man with a lax will who *intends* to put his own physical safety first, who calculates on what will save him pain or death and acts on that calculation, then certainly you are not one. It's purely a question of words. Do you see? . . .

"Now it seems to me that what is the matter with you is the same thing that's the matter with every decent person—only in rather a vivid form. You've got violent temptations, and you yield to them. But you don't will to yield to them. There's the best part of you fighting all the time. That's entirely a different case from the man who has what we Catholics call 'malice'—the man who plans temptations and calculates on them and means to yield to them. You've got a weak will, let us say, a vivid imagination, and a good heart. . . . (Don't interrupt. I'm not whitewashing you. . . . I'm going to say some more unpleasant things presently.) . . .

"Well . . . a really brave man doesn't allow himself to be dominated by his imagination—a really brave man—the kind of man who gets the V. C. His will rules him; or, rather, he rules himself through his will. He may be terribly frightened in his imagination all the while; and the more frightened his imagination is, the braver he is, if he dominates it. Mere physical courage—the absence of fear—simply is not worth calling bravery. It's the bravery of the tiger, not the moral bravery of the Man.

"And you aren't a brave man—in that sense. Nor are you a coward in the real sense either. You're just ordinary. And what we've got to see is how you're to get your will uppermost.

"The first thing you've got to do is to understand yourself—to see that you've got those two things pulling at you—imagination and will. And the second thing you've got to do is to try to live by your will, and not by your imagination—in quite

small things I mean. Muscles become strong by doing small things—using small dumb-bells—over and over again; not by using huge dumb-bells once or twice. And the way the will becomes strong is the same—doing small things you've made up your mind to do, however much you don't want to do them at the time—I mean really small things—getting up in the morning, going to bed. . . . You simply can't lift big dumb-bells merely by wanting to. And I don't suppose that it was simply within your power to have done those other things you've told me of. (By the way, we Catholics believe, you know, that to fight a duel and to commit suicide are extremely wrong: they're what we call mortal sins. . . . However, that's not the point now. You didn't refrain from doing them because you thought them wrong, obviously. We're talking about courage—the courage you hadn't got.)

"Now this sounds rather dreary advice, I expect. But you know we can't change the whole of our character all at once. To say that by willing it we can become strong, or . . . or good, all in a moment, is simply not true. It's as untrue as what you tell me that Professor said—that we can't change at all. That's a black lie, by the way. It's the kind of thing these modern people say: it saves them a lot of trouble, you see. We can change, slowly and steadily, if we set our will to it."

He paused. Val was sitting perfectly still now, listening. Two or three times during the priest's little speech he had moved as if to interrupt; but the other had stopped him by a word or gesture. And the boy sat still, his white hat in his hands.

"Well, that's my diagnosis," said the priest, smiling. "And that's my advice. Begin to exercise your will. Make a rule of life (as we Catholics say) by which you live—a rule about how you spend the day. And keep it; and go on keeping it. Don't dwell on what you would do if such and such a thing happened—as to whether you'd be brave or not. That's simply fatal; because it's encouraging and exciting the imagination. On the contrary, starve the imagination and feed the will. It's for the want of that, in these days of nervous systems and rush and excitement, that so many people break down. . . ."

"And . . . and about religion?" asked Val shyly.

The priest waved his hands.

"Well," he said, "you know what my religion is. At least, you almost certainly don't. And, naturally, I'm quite convinced that mine is true. But that's not to the point now. If you really want to know, you can come and talk some other time. With regard to religion, I would only say to you now,

> Practise your own: do, in the way of prayers and so on, all that you conscientiously can. . . . Yes, make a rule about that too, and stick to it. Make it a part of your rule, in fact. If you decide to say your prayers every day, say them, whatever you feel like. Don't drop them suddenly one morning just because you don't feel religious. That's fatal. It's letting your imagination dominate your will. And that's exactly what you want to avoid."

Poor Val makes up his mind to follow the priest's advice. He has hoped and prayed that some day he may have an opportunity of doing a brave act in some great danger—something that he can throw himself into without having time to think; something from which, once he has acted, there can be no withdrawal. The opportunity comes. He is left at home in charge of the house. A fire occurs, and he rushes to clear the muniment room of its family treasures. There he is caught by the flames. A terrible scene occurs, for he loses all control of himself, and raves madly and incoherently at the barred windows till the floor falls, and he with it. This dreadful scene deepens the opinion of his family that, all through, he was a hopeless coward. Father Maple takes another view. Physically, he was afraid; morally, he showed great courage. The priest tries to persuade Val's mother that this was so, but she cannot understand. The story conveys a lesson of charity—that one must not always judge by external actions, but look deeper, into the mind and soul, where we may discover unthought-of virtues.

Here and there in his book Mgr. Benson gives us amusing descriptions of highly respectable Anglicanism, and delivers a well-deserved hit at the behavior of English tourists in Roman churches. The following passage is a delightfully real picture of the way in which English people of the better class "do" Rome:

> "And of real Rome, of course, they had seen nothing at all. Figures had moved before them—the insolent light-blue cloaks of soldiers who resembled French tram-conductors; seedy-looking priests who went hurriedly and softly with downcast eyes; countrymen—real ones, not the sham ones of the Trinità—asleep in little canopied carts that roared over the cobblestones; endless companies of handsomely bearded bourgeois clerks and tradesmen, pacing slowly up and down the Corso and eyeing brutally every female figure in range. They had seen crumbling ruins against the sky; little churches, rather dingy, looking squeezed and asleep, between new white houses with balconies and uncountable windows; and they had understood absolutely less than nothing (since they had miscon-

ceived the whole) of all that their eyes and ears had taken in. They had believed themselves, for example, to be by nature on the side of the Government and the new hotels and the trams and the clean white squares; they had not understood that that which they dismissed as ecclesiasticism and *intransigeance* was the only element with which they had anything in common, and that this, and this only, had developed their aristocracy in the past as well as being its only hope for the future. They had not understood that all this, in terms of Italy, was a translation of their own instincts and circumstances at home."

Finally, we cannot resist the temptation to quote one more passage, which shows that at least one educated English gentleman, the author himself, has learnt the inner meaning of the Eternal City. Valentine and his friends were standing on the Pincian Hill:

"What they saw from that place was certainly remarkable and beautiful, indeed 'very wonderful,' as Austin had most correctly observed. They stood on the very edge of a terraced precipice, their hands resting on a balustrade, looking out over the whole of medieval Rome bathed in a dusty glory of blue and gold; the roofs, broken here and there by domes and spires, stretched completely round the half-circle to right and left, in a kind of flat amphitheatre of which the arena, crawling with cabs and pedestrians, was the Piazza del Popolo, where Luther walked after saying mass in the church on the right. All this was lovely enough—the smoke went up straight, delicate as lawn against the glorious evening sky; cypresses rose, tall and sombre, beneath them, and barred the sky far away like blots of black against an open furnace-door; and sounds came up here, mellow and gentle—the crack of whips, bells, cries, the roll of wheels, across the cobbles of the Piazza. But that to which both eye and thought returned again and again was the vast bell of purple shadow, lit with rose, that dominated the whole, straight in front, and is called the dome of St. Peter's. It rested there, like a flower descending from heaven, and at this very instant the sun, hidden behind it, shone through the windows, clean through from side to side, making it as unsubstantial as a shell of foam. It hung there, itself the symbol of a benediction, as if held by an invisible thread from the very throne of God, supported from below, it seemed, by earthly buildings that had sprung up to meet it, and now pushed and jostled that they might rest beneath its shadow. Beyond, again, fine as lacework, trees stood up, minute and delicate and dis-

tant, like ragged feathers seen against firelight. Only, this firelight deepened to rose and crimson as they looked, filled the whole sky with flame, satisfying the eye as water a thirsty throat.

"This then was what they saw. They would be able to describe all this later, and even, after consulting Baedeker, to name the domes and towers that helped to make up the whole—the white dome of the Jewish synagogue, for instance, that mocked and caricatured the gentle giant beyond, like a street-boy imitating a king. They would be able to wave their hands, for lack of description. . . . They would be able to rave vaguely about Italy and its colors. Austin would be able to draw striking contrasts between modern Rome and ancient Athens (which he had conscientiously visited in the company of Eton masters two years ago). And they both would be able to show that they belonged to the elect company of the initiates, in that they would say that what impressed them far more than St. Peter's or St. John Lateran was the view of Rome at sunset from the Pincian.

"Now of course there is a great deal more to see from the Pincian at sunset than what has been set down here. It is the history of the human race, and the love of God, and the story of how One "came to His own and His own received Him not," and the significance of the City of the World, and the conjunction of small human affairs with Eternity, and their reconciliation with it through the airy shell of foam which, as a matter of realistic fact, consists of uncountable tons of masonry—in fact, the reconciliation of all paradoxes, and the solution of all doubts, and the incarnation of all mysteries, and the final complete satisfaction of the Creator with the creature and of the creature with the Creator—all these things, with their correlatives, find voice and shape and color in the view of Rome from the Pincian at sunset. For here, where the watchers stand, is modern Italy, gross, fleshly, complacent, and blind. There are white marble busts here, of bearded men and decadent poets, and wholly unimportant celebrities, standing in rows beneath the ilexes like self-conscious philosophers; and chattering crowds surge to and fro; and men eye women, and women, with their noses in the air, lean back in rather shabby carriages and pretend not to see the men; and the seminarians go by, swift processions of boys, walking rapidly, as troops on alien ground, with the sleeves of their sopranos flying behind them, intent on getting back to their seminaries before *Ave*

Maria rings; and belated children scream and laugh—thin-legged, frilled children, with peevish eyes, who call one another Ercole and Louise and Tito and Elena; and bourgeois families in silk and broadcloth, with the eyes of Augustus and Poppæa and the souls of dirty shrimps, pace solemnly about, arm in arm, and believe themselves fashionable and enlightened and modern. All these things and persons are here, and it is from this world and from this standpoint that one looks back and forward through the centuries—back to the roots that crept along the Catacombs, that pushed up stems in the little old churches with white marble choirs, and that blossomed at last into that astounding, full-orbed flower that hangs there, full of gold and blue and orange and sunlight; and on, from that flower to the seed it is shedding in every land, and to the Forest of the Future. . . ."

Here we must take leave of Mgr. Benson and his latest novel, which, if somewhat slight in structure, yet well repays perusal, and, we may hope, will carry more than one lesson home to the minds of those it is designed to reach.

THE MIRROR OF OXFORD. By C. B. Dawson, S.J., M.A. (Exeter College). With forty illustrations and a map. London and Edinburgh: Sands & Co.; St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1912. Pp. 265.

There are proportionately fewer Catholic students at Oxford, at the present time, than there are at any one of our leading American non-Catholic universities, such as Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Pennsylvania, Chicago, Berkeley. Nevertheless there is a decidedly Catholic influence being exercised at Oxford by the gradual return of the Religious Orders, whose members act as licensed masters for undergraduate students. Among the houses of study opened by them are those of Parker's Hall, belonging to the Benedictines of Ampleforth Abbey, and Pope's Hall, established by the Jesuits, who also have built St. Aloysius's Church, a beautiful edifice, in which since 1875 upwards of a thousand converts have been reconciled to the Catholic Church; and a new Jesuit church, dedicated to SS. Edmund and Frideswide, has been opened at Oxford. The Capuchin Fathers also have founded a house of studies for students of their Order, although the institution still lacks the academical authorization required for the reception of undergraduate students of the University. The University Catholic Board also provides for regular religious services by a priest for the general body of Catholic students, which does not exceed a hundred yet.

Thus Oxford University is being reanimated with something of its ancient vitality, after nearly four centuries of delirium, during which it seems to have lost its true identity, retaining only the beautiful forms created by its Catholic founders. The Reformers, so-called, did their best to eliminate every vestige of the ancient faith imprinted upon the brow of the venerable mistress of learning. But the fashion of every cloister and the face of the old archways betrayed the ancient habits of her interior, and confronted the searcher after truth in its halls with countless inconsistencies between the affirmation of modern teachers within and the indelible testimony of once taught truth written upon the noble walls.

What the Reformers proclaimed and pretended has been repeated by the historians of the guide-book, and the New World visitor to the ancient sites is informed about the past of Oxford in lines written to harmonize with the prejudices created by Protestant tradition. "Wherever questions arise regarding the religious storm which burst over the University in the sixteenth century, statements are made, and inferences drawn, which in the light of present knowledge can no longer be sustained." To counteract this misrepresentation is the author's chief reason for publishing his book.

The sources from which the present account of Oxford University is drawn, are uniformly authentic, and Father Dawson has been helped not only by the widely-known literature on the subject, but likewise by the critical researches of the Oxford Historical Society. As a result he constructs a thoroughly reliable record of the origin, development, religious and scientific activity of the old foundations, together with the eliminations, modifications, changes, and additions made since the ancient seat of learning was wrested from Catholic control. There is a history of each of the twenty-one Colleges and Halls, a brief sketch of the religious Orders whose members were instrumental in developing the spirit of philosophical and theological teaching to a degree which made the name of Oxford synonymous with all that is implied in the highest authority of human learning.

To avoid misconception, we should add that the volume is not in the least polemical, nor even didactic; it simply records facts, but facts that carry with them an immense evidence of the power of Catholic teaching and organization. The numerous illustrations give a distinction to the volume which increases its practical utility as a guide through Oxford or a reference book to its history.

BREVIARIUM ROMANUM ex Decreto SS. Concilii Tridentini etc. Editio septima post alteram typicam continens Novum Psalterium. Quattuor partes. Ratisbonae, Romae, Neo-Eboraci et Cincinnati: Sumpt. et typis Friderici Pustet. 1912.

In view of the Papal Constitution *Divino afflatu,* which ordains a different arrangement in the daily recitation of the Divine Office from that to which priests of the Latin rite have heretofore been accustomed, it is a pleasure to have a new style Breviary. One of the best editions of the new Office book is being supplied by Fr. Pustet of Ratisbon, who takes first rank among the liturgical printers in Europe, not only on account of the excellent work produced by him in the past, but also by reason of the generosity with which the old head of the firm, Chevalier Pustet, undertook the expense of the various Medicean editions, at the time when Leo XIII, after reorganizing the liturgical services, could find no other European publisher who was willing to run the financial risk involved in reproducing the more expensive books used only in exceptional choir services.

The Breviary before us, in flexible binding, about seven by four inches, of light weight, printed on toned paper, is in form and typography an ideal "priest's prayer book". It is of course understood that when one speaks of an ideal Breviary, it is only in a relative sense. Some readers require large type; others want the volume in the smallest possible format, so as to make of it a real vest-pocket edition; and there are many other preferences due to the habits or tastes of the individual.

Apart from the excellences of form which we have mentioned, little is to be said about the volumes, as the matter is uniformly the same in all editions and placed as conveniently as experience and the requirements allow. We must note, however, since it may cause some annoyance to those who prefer this edition on other grounds, the faulty reference to the paging in the "Commune Sanctorum"; thus, throughout we have the reference of the Te Deum to page 13, instead of page 7; the Antiphons at Lauds refer to Psalms on page 14 instead of 28. There are given also the old Votive Offices, although they with their rubrics have been abolished by the new rules, and are useless except as archeological information needlessly increasing the bulk of the book. Evidently the entire portion printed in bracketed numbers, that is, the "Commune Sanctorum" and the "Officia Propria pro aliquibus locis", wherever these refer to the Ordinarium, needs to be revised to make the references correct. In some instances this error of reference extends to the Proper, as in the Office of St. Elizabeth (8 July). The rubric "et per horas" under Lauds should also be eliminated.

LIFE AND TIMES OF THE PATRIARCHS, ABRAHAM, ISAAC, AND JACOB. Being a supplement to "The Land and the Book". By William Hamid Thompson, M.D., LL.D. Illustrated. Funk & Wagnalls Co. 1912. Pp. 285.

The fifteen chapters of this handsomely printed little volume are lectures or talks on Biblical topics which group themselves in a somewhat desultory fashion within the period of the patriarchs. The writer, who traveled with his father, the author of the well-known *The Land and the Book,* fills in certain recesses of the latter work by descriptions of Scriptural personages, places, and characteristics of patriarchal life, interspersed with reminiscences and expressions of opinion which offer instructive and interesting reading. In the matter of criticism, though the book does not aim at scientific form, the author is wholly conservative.

COMPENDIUM LITURGIAE SACRAE, juxta Ritum Romanum in Missae celebratione et Officii recitatione. Auctore Jos. Aertnys, C.SS.R., Theologiae Moralis et S. Liturgiae Professore emerito. Editio septima Constitutioni novissimae Pii PP. X ac recentissimis S.R.C. Decretis accommodata. Tornaci: Libreria Casterman (Galopiae: Firma M. Alberts). 1912. Pp. 180.

The clergy everywhere are familiar with the title of the venerable Father Aertnys' summary of liturgical rules and approved practices, for the book has been before the public for many years and had been republished in six editions before the promulgation, last November, of the Pontifical Constitution *Divino afflatu.* The present edition of the *Compendium* incorporates the changes made necessary by this document and thus becomes practically a new work. It may be well to recall here that the author's purpose is to explain briefly the rites of the Mass and of the general rubrics of the Missal, as well as the method of reciting the Breviary. It thus interprets the offices of the ecclesiastical year and makes clear their mutual relations. The method of exposition, to which the typographical arrangement also tends, makes the manual particularly useful for classes in the final year of preparation for sacred orders.

Literary Chat.

The *Histoire de l'Inquisition en France* by T. de Cauzons, the second volume of which has just been issued by the publishers of the Nouvelle Bibliothèque Historique, has been censured by the S. Congregation of the Index. The condemnation is dated 6 May of the present year, and specifically refers to the first volume issued in 1909. We printed an exhaustive and objective criticism of the book at the time, pointing out the attitude of the author. That attitude, whilst it was in no wise hostile to the disciplinary institutions, much less to the faith of the Catholic Church, was one of occasional strong censure of the churchmen who represented the Inquisition during the period of its greatest severity. This, we assume, is the chief reason for placing the book on the *Index*, albeit the S. Congregation does not assign any specific reasons in such cases, unless they are asked for by the author; for it is to be understood that the grounds of censure become patent when once indicated as contained either in the spirit or statements of the work.

The second volume, although it is not mentioned in the Index censure, since its appearance is simultaneous with the Decree, naturally shares in the censure of the Introductory History which forms the subject of volume one. In the second volume the author deals with the personnel, procedure, penalties and their execution, adopted under the authority of the Inquisition. A third and final volume was announced, to treat of the Inquisition within the borders of France. The student of history who abstracts from any opinion expressed by the author, and who takes the facts collated by him in the purely objective manner of the historian, must recognize the wide range of learning shown in the work. We trust the author may so modify his statements in a future edition as to divest his erudition of any taint of exaggerated conclusions, which must do harm to the uncritical reader and which offer weapons to the malignant critics against the legitimate and salutary discipline of the Church of Christ.

Professor Singenberger has published an English translation of Battlogg's *Catechism of Liturgy*. It will prove a useful adjunct in the work of our church choirs, inasmuch as it explains the Latin terms of the chant and of the rubrics used in divine services. The *Catechism* is perhaps a little too wordy, considering that the English tongue expresses thought more directly, if not more forcibly, than German or Italian or French. A page or so at the end of the volume by way of a brief epitome of definitions for quick reference would increase the usefulness of the brochure.

New and interesting issues in the Octavo Edition of Liturgical Catholic Church Music published by Schirmer, of New York (Boston: Boston Music Co.) are: Mass in A, by J. Rheinberger, Op. 126, which is edited and revised by N. A. Montani, and can be sung by soprano and alto (with tenor and bass ad lib.) or by tenor and bass (singing the parts of soprano and alto); Mass in G in honor of Blessed Jeanne d'Arc, for four-part chorus (S.T.B.B.), by Pietro A. Yon; a Tantum Ergo (S.A.T.B.) in A minor, by G. J. S. White; a "Recordare, Virgo Mater Dei" by Abel A. Gabert, instructor in ecclesiastical music at the Catholic University, Washington (for tenor and bass or soprano and mezzo soprano); and, in Schirmer's Collection of Masses and Vespers, the Missa "Orbis Factor" for unison chorus with organ, by Nicola A. Montani. The principal theme of this Mass (from which it derives its title) is taken from the melody of the Kyrie "Orbis Factor" of the Vatican Edition. It is so arranged that it can be sung by a choir either of boys or of men, or of both combined, the division of the choir into two sections providing a pleasing tonal variety in a unison melody which

is melodic and simple, while the organ supports effectively by a sufficiently easy accompaniment.

August is not a time when the general reader looks around for books on philosophy. Even the devotee of the queenly wisdom remits something of his perfervidity during the dog-day season. However, at least the professional student has one eye open toward the approaching school term and takes enough actual interest in passing events in his line to keep in touch with coming studies. Several highly important works have recently appeared, mention of which should here and now be made in anticipation of more detailed description reserved for September.

First and above all there is an *Introductory Philosophy*, by Charles A. Dubray, S.M., Ph.D., professor at the Marist College, Washington, D. C. It is a text-book intended for use in colleges and high-schools, as well as in private instruction. It is not the highest praise to say that it stands easily in the first place amongst the books of its class. It is more just to add that absolutely, and not comparatively, it is a very excellent production, and that it were easier to understate than to exaggerate its merits. This will be shown in the next number of the REVIEW. Suffice it here to recommend it in the strongest possible terms to those who are interested in the study or teaching of philosophy. (New York: Longmans, Green, & Co.)

Next there is *The Science of Logic*, in two large stately volumes, by Dr. Coffey, professor at Maynooth. The author is well known through his previous contributions to philosophy—translations, namely, of De Wulf's *History of Medieval Philosophy*, and *Scholasticism, Old and New*. Disciple as he is of the Louvain school, he is endeavoring to do for English readers what Professor (now Cardinal) Mercier and his colaborers have done for the French, i. e. furnish them with thorough studies on the several parts of the philosophical system. He has certainly laid a solid foundation in the present two volumes, and professors and advanced students will applaud and profit by his undertaking. (Longmans, Green, & Co.)

A third notable contribution to philosophy is *Present Philosophical Tendencies*, by Ralph Perry, Ph. D., assistant professor of Philosophy at Harvard. As the sub-title indicates, it is a critical survey of Naturalism, Idealism, Pragmatism, and Realism. It contains also a synopsis of the philosophy of the late William James. Dr. Perry is a realist. His criticism of the opposite systems is frank and discriminating. (Longmans, Green, & Co.)

A translation of Rosmini's *Theodicy* has recently been issued by Longmans in three neat volumes. The work is a series of essays setting forth manifold aspects of God's providence. It is timely as well as solid. The translator has modestly omitted his name, but he has done his work well.

The translation of Dr. Stöckl's well-known *History of Philosophy* by Fr. T. A. Finlay, S.J., now appears in one goodly volume, having previously been issued in two sections. The book covers the pre-scholastic and the Scholastic period. The second volume, to comprise modern philosophy, is in preparation. The value of the book is too well established to need any commendation here. The translation is worthy of the text. (Longmans, Green, & Co.)

From Epicurus to Christ, a widely read book, by the President of Bowdoin College, Dr. De Witt Hyde, has recently been reissued under a new title and one that is more descriptive of the scope of the work. The Epicurean, the Stoic, the Platonic, and the Aristotelian conceptions of life are set over against the Christian spirit of love. The book is readable and stimulating. (The Macmillan Co.).

The Learning Process, by Stephen S. Colvin, Ph.D., professor of Psychology at the University of Illinois, is a detailed psychological analysis of the fundamental conceptions and facts relative to the process of learning and its application, especially in the elementary and the secondary school. The mature mind and practical conduct are also considered. (The Macmillan Co.).

Those who are interested in the Negro problem will find some of its aspects ably treated in a recent number of the Columbia "Studies in Economics" (124), entitled *The Negro at Work in New York City*, by George Haynes, Ph.D. Other issues in the same series are—*British Radicalism, 1791-1797; A Comparative Study of the Law of Corporations* (the legal protection of creditors and shareholders is principally considered); *Provincial and Local Taxation in Canada* (a description of the tax systems of the Canadian Provinces and their practical working); *The Spirit of Chinese Philanthropy*, by **Yu-Yue Tsu, Ph.D.** The last is a study in mutual aid that enlarges one's view of Chinese social conditions and makes one think much more kindly of the manifold forms of beneficence at work amongst his antipodal brethren. (Longmans, Green, & Co.)

Books Received.

BIBLICAL.

CHRIST'S TEACHING CONCERNING DIVORCE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. An Exegetical Study. By the Rev. Francis E. Gigot, D.D., Professor of Sacred Scripture in St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y., and Author of Several Works Introductory to the Study of the Holy Scriptures. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1912. Pp. 282. Price, $1.50 *net.*

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